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ART. I.—DRYDEN AS A HYMNODIST.

The Works of John Dryden. Illustrated with Notes, Historical, Critical, and Explanatory, and a Life of the Author. By Sir WALTER SCOTT, Bart. Revised and corrected by GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Vols. I. to VIII. Edinburgh: W. Paterson. 1882—1884.

I.

DRYDEN'S claim to be held as a translator of hymns, if it be sustained, will add one more element of versatility to a many-sided reputation which, amongst English men of letters, is almost if not quite unique. His reputation as a master of "our sweet mother tongue" was based perhaps on the vigour and power of his "facile and masculine prose." It was raised by his success as the great dramatist—both playwright and critic—of his age. But the edifice of his fame was certainly completed by the eminence which he achieved during his lifetime—an eminence which has increased rather than lessened since his death—in the third division of literature, viz., in nearly every kind and sort, save one, of English poetry.

Dryden has been well described by a late critic as "the best writer of prose beyond all question among our poets, and the best poet beyond all question among our prose writers."

And it has been shrewdly observed by a still later author, in regard to his plays, that

"the fact that he did something else much better has obscured the fact that he did this thing, in not a few instances, very well. His plays indeed are far inferior as plays to his satires and fables as poems. (But, adds the same writer), the plays of Dryden are a great deal better than the average critic admits."

One of the first of the second order of English dramatists, in a
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wide sense of the term ; the very first of translators from the classics ; if not the founder of a school, at least the great teacher and exemplar in the art of criticism—he was the only English poet not only of the highest, but of any considerable rank who also utilized his magnificent powers with equal effect in satirical and didactic poetry alike. For Dryden—in addition to other efforts in which he surpassed his contemporaries—was a writer in verse on politics, on philosophy and on polemics. But, if in metre he makes us think exactly and argue logically and conclude rationally on controverted topics of religion, science and civil government, he was the author also of elegies and essays, of songs and odes and satires, of heroic stanzas and courtly addresses, of epitaphs, panegyrics and other funeral poems, and of epistles, prologues and epilogues to many persons and on many subjects. It is clearly not impossible, then, in the nature of things, that Dryden may also claim to be reckoned—in lines on which hitherto he has apparently left no mark—as a writer of hymns. Whether such a claim on behalf of such an author and such a man be wise or indiscreet, and whether the claim will raise or lower his credit with the world, are points which need not now be discussed. In any case, the question of hymnody opens a fresh aspect of Dryden's composite genius. But if new, is the aspect likewise a true view ? Is it within the bounds of probability—the assertion of authorship not having been previously made by any one (save with exceptions) ; the hymns themselves (in their great majority) not having been published by himself, nor even in his lifetime ; and the proofs of composition (if so they may be called) being mainly founded, nearly two centuries afterwards, upon internal criticism and circumstantial evidence ? Is it indeed possible that Dryden should have been a translator, and a great translator, of hymns ?

Such is the topic of inquiry in the following pages. That the inquiry is timely, not to say urgent, will be admitted when this fact is remembered. An exhaustive and critical edition of Dryden's works, edited by one of the chief living authorities on the poet, is at the present moment midway in publication. If Dryden's claims be not allowed to be just, the hymns, or most of them, which are mentioned or estimated in this article, will be denied admission into the only standard edition that this generation is likely to witness. It is, of course, by no means certain that, after reading the following argument, critics will accept its conclusions. Still, if the claim be made at all, it should be made at once : and the sooner it is made, and the sooner it is accepted (to some extent at least) the better.

Dryden's versatility of genius ; the attention which he had bestowed upon both the theory and practice of translating from the Latin, his conversion to the Catholic faith in the full powers

of his manhood, and the needs of the communion to which he belonged, together with the fact that he had avowedly rendered a very few Catholic hymns into English—these are suggestive circumstances, not to say indirect proofs of his having been a translator of hymns on a wider field. Indeed, it may be argued that, had so accomplished a convert to the Church at so critical a period, had so eminent a name in the republic of letters, had such a consummate master of English verse, had such a prolific versifier from the Latin done nothing to popularize amongst his co-religionists the grand ancient hymns of Christianity, the omission would have been noteworthy and some apology, or at least some explanation, would have been required. For, the existing translations in his day—and they did exist, though the present generation knows nothing, or next to nothing, of them—of which three well-defined types, of 1604, of 1619, and of 1685 remain, were indifferently good, not to say positively bad: and the number of the translations was few, being confined chiefly to the Breviary hymns for Vespers, to the hymns in the Office of our Lady and to some of the Sequences from the Missal. The difficulties which arise on the score of anonymity and of the posthumous publication of the hymns under consideration, as being of secondary importance to the main issue, may be passed by here and now, though they can be satisfactorily explained. Meanwhile, an estimate of his versatility of genius may be gathered from the words of Dryden-students and Dryden-critics which were written long previously to the present inquiry, and hence are wholly independent of the present argument. These opinions will be freely used and will be repeated, though not always with marks of quotation. For a new judgment on, or a new estimate of Dryden's powers will not here be ventured upon: but rather, these being taken for granted in the words of others, the extension of his powers in a new and hitherto unsuspected outlet will alone be suggested as not improbable. It will need neither critic nor student to supply instances of his versatility of genius; nor to draw reasonable inferences from proofs of it, in favour of the demands of hymnody. And this is all that will be attempted. Dryden, Dryden's gifts and Dryden's works will only be viewed, in the present article, in relation to his claims as a hymnodist.

II.

Perhaps, says Dr. Johnson,
“no nation ever produced a writer that enriched his language with such a variety of modes.”

He may be properly considered, according to the same gruff

old literary philosopher, "the father of English criticism." Of his great master, the poet Pope has declared that he

"could select from his works better specimens of every mode of poetry than any other English writer could supply."

The prose of Dryden, is the verdict of no ordinary writer of prose, Sir Walter Scott,

"may rank as the best in the English language."

Almost every succeeding author of note, from his day to ours, if the occasion offered, has re-echoed his praises, *e.g.*, Wycherley, Congreve, Garth, Addison, Gray, Churchill, Burke, Gibbon, Charles Fox, and Byron. Even Hallam, also, and Macaulay: the latter, whilst commenting

"in severe terms on the weakness of the man who could prostitute his majestic powers to pander to the taste of a profligate Court,"

did ample justice to his undoubted genius. His services, indeed, to the literature of his country, an able writer in the "Quarterly Review" affirms (No. 292, vol. cxvi., Oct. 1878) were "manifold and splendid;" and no other name in the annals of literary biography

"has represented so completely the English character and the English intellect. . . . He determined the bent of a great literature at a great crisis. . . . He banished for ever (continues the same critic) the unpruned luxuriance (of an earlier literature, and) vindicated the substitution of a style which should proceed on critical principles, and should aim at terseness, sustentiousness and epigram."

He wrote eight-and-twenty dramas in thirty-one years: and of these "Don Sebastian" (1689) has been pronounced the finest tragedy which the English stage had seen since the death of Shakespeare. Indeed, in Sir Walter Scott's generous appreciation, had he published this play only, it would have secured the author's immortality. In the meantime, the "Essay of Dramatic Poesy" (1665), an essay which is said to mark an era in literary criticism, placed Dryden at the head of contemporary prose writers; and the "Annus Mirabilis" (1666) placed him at the head of contemporary poets. Moreover, to follow the same skilful guide and reviewer, Dryden

"had shown us how our language could adapt itself to the various needs of didactic prose, of lyric poetry, of argumentative exposition, of easy narrative, of sonorous declamation. He had exhibited for the first time, in all their fulness, the power and compass of the heroic couplet; and he had demonstrated the possibility of reasoning closely and vigorously in verse. . . . The first poet and first critic of his age (his powers eventually acquired) a maturity, a richness and a ductility which are the pride and wonder of our literature. . . . (He then arrived at a period of his career) when the obscurer vicissitudes incident to a writer for the stage were to be changed for the

more striking experiences incident to one who figures on the troubled scene of party politics. He was now to achieve his proudest triumphs. He was to enter on that immortal series of satirical and didactic poems compared with which his former efforts sunk into insignificance."

Sir Walter Scott is not less warm and enthusiastic on the object of his biography. Dryden, he says,

"was destined, if not to give laws to the stage of England, at least to defend its liberties; to improve burlesque into satire; to free translation from the fetters of verbal metaphor and to exclude from it the license of paraphrase; to teach posterity the powerful and varied poetical harmony of which their language was capable; and to give an example of the lyric ode of unapproachable excellence; and to leave to English literature a name second only to those of Milton and Shakespeare."

Whilst, if we accept only the more modified, more critical and cooler enthusiasm of the latest of Dryden's biographers, Mr. G. Saintsbury, in his brilliant monograph of the poet in Mr. John Morley's series of "English Men of Letters," we may admire the versatility of his powers by noting the change that came over the character of Dryden's work in 1680. In the space of less than seven years he produced a series of satirical and didactic poems, which

"are quite unlike anything which came before them and have never been approached by anything that has come after them. (Not only, observes the same author,) is there nothing better of their own kind, but it may be almost said, that there is nothing better in any other literary language."

Amongst such poems, "Absalom and Achitophel" (1681), "Religio Laici" (1682), and "The Hind and the Panther" (1687),

"hold the first place in company with few rivals. . . . (In a certain kind of satire,) they have no rival at all; and in a certain kind of argumentative exposition they have no rival except in Lucretius. . . . (In short,) the first poet and the first critic of his age,"

the author who in all the three divisions of literature, in prose, in play-writing, and in poetry has risen higher in the estimation of cultured persons during a period of two centuries than any other author has risen in all the same three divisions, Dryden's influence has been something prodigious. "With the exception of Shakespeare, there is probably no other name so familiar to the student of English literature."

III.

These are some of the characteristics of Dryden's versatile genius, as it has been depicted, apart from the present inquiry into his hymnody, by competent critics and students. These are some of the estimates which they have formed of his powers, of

his work, and of the results which ensued from both. The estimates and the characteristics refer to his prose, his poems and his plays. But, in so far as general criticism can be made particular, and in so far as opinions definitely formed on given topics can be applied to fresh subjects in a like direction, so far may these opinions be held and these criticisms be offered on the versions of Catholic hymns which I venture to ascribe to the pen of Dryden. These versions are found in a fresh rendering of many of the hymns—and for the first time of a rendering of all the hymns—in the Breviary, of some in the Missal, and of certain other authorized hymns of the Church. They appeared as “a new and approved translation” in the year of grace 1706. They were published anonymously; were printed with no printer’s name affixed; and were issued in the popular book of Catholic devotions for the day—*The Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. The translations were made from the hymns appointed to be used for the chief seasons, festivals, holy-days and week-days of the Church; and they extend to about one hundred and twenty in number. A first glance, and still more a study of the hymns, ensures for them a favourable impression which gradually ripens into admiration. Whosoever may have been the author of the translations, he was no ordinary versifier; he was no mere rhymer; he was no novice in the art of turning Latin poetry into English verse. Rather, he then proved himself to be an accomplished adept; and since, though unknown by name, has been accepted by Catholic translators as a master to be followed and imitated. The hymns in the *Primer* bear strong marks of family relationship towards each other and strong marks of individuality in their rendering—very strong, if it be remembered that the originals come from various sources, and from various writers, and were composed at different dates. The English translations were clearly done on a plan, done by some rule, done by one who followed a law of translation. Certain resemblances in form, not to say mannerisms (in a harmless sense of the word) in style, repetitions of thought and expression, repetitions of word, of phrase, of unusual and peculiar metre, even of whole verses (these being the *glorias*), run through the collection from end to end. Without speaking too dogmatically, it is almost certain that the whole series—perhaps with exceptions—comes from a single brain and from a single hand. Whosoever may have been the author, the versions transparently display the wider characteristics claimed for the poet by Drydenian students and critics which have been already quoted; and still more, if it be possible, those subtle characteristics some of which have yet to be stated. The general aspect of the hymns is not less decidedly marked than their individual features—specially in the construction of

sentences, in the employment of pronouns and use of adjectives, in the play upon words and the arrangement of words, in the carefulness at times, and at times, too, the carelessness displayed in the choice of rhymes. Whosoever may be the author, he was certainly—if the terms quoted above may be repeated and to an extent adapted—the father of a new school of English Catholic hymn-translators, which since his day have multiplied. His collection enriched the English language, at that date and in the century before hymn-singing became the fashion, with a great variety of hymns. Some of his hymns may be ranked amongst the very best versions in the English tongue; and from his work may be selected a large number of better specimens than any other English author can supply. Some of the translations, all-unconsciously to their editors, or perhaps unreflectingly, have found their way into Protestant hymn-books. Some have always been reproduced in Catholic hymn-books and books of devotion; and not always—it is to be regretted—without alteration. And some, again, have formed the basis of fresh translations, and have been used as models, and that by late writers from whom even unintentional plagiarism and imitation would have been the least expected.

Whoever, again, may have been the author of these hymns, if any reliance can be placed upon internal subjective evidence, he was certainly a Catholic, he was presumably a layman, he was probably a convert from Protestantism, and if a convert, he was converted from the established religion. He was, upon the like testimony and with not less certainty and perhaps on more objective evidence, a classical scholar; a man imbued with classical ideas, thoughts, expressions; a man of the world, probably also not unacquainted with courts and princes. He was, also, a man of letters, of the day and hour, and was specially familiar with that side of letters which touched translation, and with that theory of translation which Dryden formulated, wrote upon and worked by—for he literally carries into practice, with modifications, in Catholic hymnody the rules theoretically laid down by Dryden for rendering into the vernacular from the heathen classics. Of course much, if not all of this criticism must be accepted or denied without positive evidence. It were impossible to substantiate each assertion within limits at disposal for the present discussion. But, before the end of the article I hope to be enabled to afford evidence of a typical kind by which these and other estimates may be morally tested. If the proof that will be given for some statements be held sufficient, other statements for which no definite evidence is offered may be esteemed trustworthy. In any case, the reader can consult the hymns and will judge for himself. One more estimate, however, may be given. Whosoever the author may have been, to adopt once again

and lastly the opinions pronounced above, these versions placed him at the head of contemporary hymn-translators. This will not convey much praise in the judgment of critics. There were, however, others, and apparently cultured and anonymous Catholic priests, who were not unworthy rivals in hymnody, at the close of the seventeenth and in the early years of the eighteenth centuries. His mission, in this direction, was to free hymn-translations from the fetters of verbal metaphor and to exclude from it the license of paraphrase. He succeeded in producing something in hymnology unlike anything, in the way of translation, which came before him; and in some instances he has never been approached by anything, on the same lines, which came after him. And, more than any other writer before or since, he thoroughly deserves, in the region of English hymnody, the application of the remark which has been bestowed upon Dryden by one of his recent critics and has been withheld from him by another, in relation to his influence upon the English language and English verse. The remark was originally made of the Emperor Augustus in regard to his adornment of the imperial city, Rome, viz., that he found it built of brick and that he left it built of marble. This is undeniably true of the translator of the *Primer* hymns of 1706, in relation to Catholic hymnody. And the translator of the *Primer* hymns I believe to have been Dryden.

IV.

The following are reasons for the opinion that the hymns in the *Primer* of 1706 are from the pen of Dryden. In giving reasons sufficient in my judgment for holding this opinion, I shall endeavour to carry conviction to the reader's mind by general and broad statements, rather than by minute and subtle instances. Circumstantial evidence, coincidences, verbal and phraseological comparisons, critical deductions—these steps in the argument, which have convinced me and led to the position occupied, would be tedious to the reader and might be considered out of place in this REVIEW. I shall, however, supply testimony enough to support the contention and references to authorities and proofs sufficient for further inquiry, if it be needed. And, I am glad to be able to say that a considerable number of the hymn-translations attributed to Dryden have been republished and may be examined by those who will have the curiosity to look at them in a volume lately published, "*Annus Sanctus*" (Burns & Oates).

The hymns in the *Primer* of 1706—as it was said above, 120 in number—were, at the date of publication, a "new version." A few exceptions, indeed, may be made to this general statement on the title-page; but very few can be made. It is true of the

great majority of the hymns. Of these 120 hymns, one only (it is believed) was published by Dryden himself, or was published during his lifetime. All the rest were both anonymous and posthumous. *Veni Creator*, "a paraphrase" as it was termed, first saw light (it is said) in the year 1693. This single hymn forms but a narrow basis, the reader will think, on which to raise a theory that shall embrace six score hymns, and account for their authorship nearly two centuries after the latest date at which they could have been written. However, this basis may at once be enlarged and its area may even be multiplied. For, in the first collected edition of all Dryden's works, in prose and poetry, published at the beginning of this century (1808) by Sir Walter Scott, two more hymn-translations are added to his account. These two hymns had been received by the editor in MS. after the whole work was set up in type: and he was satisfied with a pedigree which led the MSS. backwards to the poet's lifetime. The additional hymns, as is well known, are *Te Deum*, and what Sir Walter vaguely and indefinitely calls the "hymn for St. John's eve." This last hymn requires careful consideration.

The "hymn for St. John's eve," as the reader of Dryden will remember, was rendered into a peculiar metre, into one, so far as I am aware, equally unknown to previous hymn-translators and to the originals from whence, at that date, hymns were translated. In reality, Scott's four verses are the opening lines of a long and peculiar hymn (cf. Daniel, "*Thesaurus Hymnologicus*," vol. i. p. 209) of fourteen stanzas, on the Nativity of St. John Baptist. They were written, not by Lactantius, as Sir Walter was inadvertently led to suppose, but by Paul the Deacon, a noble of Lombardy, who was sometime secretary to the last king of the Lombards and died in the monastery of Monte Cassino at the close of the eighth century. The portion printed by Scott, is the first part of a threefold division of this hymn, the portion which is sung at both Vespers of the feast. The remainder of the hymn which, divided into two, form the corresponding hymns in the Breviary for the hours of Matins and Lauds, have also been translated. They are printed in the *Primer* of 1706; and will be reproduced below for the reader's examination. They are done into the same metre as Scott's "hymn for St. John's eve": and internal evidence, which it is hard to put into words shortly, indisputably points to the same translator for all three parts. This claim on Dryden's behalf to the authorship of all three divisions of the hymn of Paul the Deacon is more important and will carry more results with it than at first sight appears probable. For, in the *Primer* there are published for the first time in 1706 not fewer than ten new translations of hymns in the same unusual—and I will say inappropriate—metre, which, if criticism is any guide in

anonymous literature, must be pronounced to be severally from the pen of one translator. The eight other hymns not yet mentioned are for these festivals of the Catholic Church: 1 and 2, Whitsuntide, Matins and Lauds; 3, St. Martina, January 30; 4, Lauds of St. Michael; 5, Angel-Guardians, October 2; the Common for Matins 6, of a Virgin and Martyr, 7, of a Virgin only, not a Martyr, and 8, of Holy Women. Of these hymns, the last three distinctly connect themselves with the "hymn for St. John's eve" by referring back to and quoting from the first line of, but not actually printing in full, the doxology common in the Breviary to all the four hymns. No student of Dryden's works, and I think, no competent literary critic could for one moment dispute the common authorship of these eight hymns and of the three for the Nativity of St. John; nor yet the common parentage of the hymns for Matins and Lauds of the festival and of Scott's "hymn for St. John's eve," which is—may I say—admittedly Dryden's. But, if any one does feel doubtful on the point, I would ask leave to advance two other incidental proofs to the same end, over and above those that have been already urged. Thus: 1. The Matins hymn for the Nativity of St. John contains one of several striking instances of a mannerism of Dryden which has been noted and illustrated, with much effect, by the poet's latest critic, Mr. G. Saintsbury. His monograph, already mentioned, appeared three years ago, at a time, I am enabled to say, when Mr. Saintsbury was not acquainted with the *Primer* hymns: and thus the support which it affords to the theory maintained in this paper is wholly independent. I will not further interrupt the thread of the argument here, beyond saying this—that the first three stanzas of the hymn contain five repetitions of the pronoun "you" or "your"; and that this peculiarity (quite unknown to other hymn versions of the day or of earlier date) is observed and annotated by Mr. Saintsbury as a characteristic of Dryden's secular poetry. He quotes (p. 31) fifteen lines of Dryden's *Astraea Redux*, in which the same unpoetical pronouns are repeated not fewer than ten times. 2. Few persons who have read, and none who have studied "The Hind and the Panther" can forget the opening words of that masterpiece and most incisive attack in controversial theology in verse:

A milk-white hind, immortal and unchanged
Fed on the lawns and in the forest ranged.

The translator in the *Primer* of the last hymn for the feast of St. John had to render into English the line:

Nesciens labem nivei pudoris.

The Rev. Father Caswall who, in his "Lyra Catholica" (a new

edition of which has lately appeared), and equally with the translator in question, has done into English the whole of the Breviary hymns turns these words into

O blessed Saint of snow-white purity.

But the translator of 1706 does not hesitate to render *nivei* by the composite adjective applied by Dryden to the Church of him of whom St. John was the forerunner and prophet, "milk-white." On this coincidence of expression I lay no great weight by itself. In conjunction with other traits of a similar sort, the evidence becomes of a cumulative character and is almost conclusive. And if I may be allowed to assign these eight hymns to Dryden's hand, the number now amounts to thirteen hymns out of 120 which I claim for the Catholic Poet-laureate of the seventeenth century, *i.e.*, more than one-tenth of the whole collection under debate.

I now come to the consideration of a single hymn about which I am forced to be egotistical. Three years ago, when engaged on a collection of English Catholic hymns from the Latin, now published under the title of "Annus Sanctus," I was led to the conclusion that the celebrated version of *Dies Iræ* attributed to Lord Roscommon was not by him, but came from the pen of Dryden. This theory was stated in the DUBLIN REVIEW, for January and April 1881, and at that date I had not seen the *Primer* of 1706. Subsequent investigations show that one date in the argument was erroneous: but the correction in detail, caused by a fresh discovery of an earlier version of the Sequence, was unimportant and only antedated its publication by a few years. One of the minor considerations which made me think that the authorship of the hymn had been wrongly ascribed, was a circumstance which was reported at second or third hand by Dr. Johnson, and was repeated by him in his life of Roscommon. It was to this effect: that that nobleman had died with the certain words from his own rendering of *Dies Iræ* on his lips, *viz.*:

My God, my father, and my friend,
Do not forsake me in my end.

It approved itself to me, in the common order of things and taking human nature as we find it, that the last words really uttered by the dying man would probably be those of any other person rather than himself. Now, it so happens that in the original stanza of *Dies Iræ*, *viz.*, the penultimate, here rendered into English, there is no Latin equivalent for any one of the three terms in which the suppliant invokes the Divine Being—"My God, my father, (or) my friend." Now, observe. In the *Primer* of 1706 the three hymns for the season of Advent

are rendered into English, of which the first and third (Ambrosian hymns) are linked together by a common *gloria*, and the second (of Gregorian origin) is presumably by the same translator. And it so happens, again, that the same identical line, with the change only of the indefinite article for the personal pronoun, is repeated—"a God, a father, and a friend"—with no more authority in the text for the English words than is found for similar rendering from *Dies Irae*. I do not say, of course, that this is conclusive of an identity of authorship. But the reiteration of the words, without any equivalents in the original, must be held to be significant and suggestive; and in concert with much other incidental evidence is fairly indicative of sameness in the translator of the three Advent hymns in the *Primer* and the *Dies Irae* respectively. The last-named hymn, also, is included in the same volume: and no person, I suppose, would, apart from all external evidence, accuse the editor of the Catholic *Primer* of knowingly inserting these four hymns by a Protestant translator. Whilst no one has ever dreamt of ascribing *En clara vox redarguit*, the Advent hymn in which the line in question occurs, to the credit of Lord Roscommon.

Thus the number of hymns hypothetically attributable to the pen of Dryden gradually increases. It is needless to continue the tale of augmentation by units or to calculate the numbers by percentages: so I will conclude this part of the argument by stating his present claims on a certain number of versions, and by asserting his claims in the future to the residue, or to the greatest proportion of the residue, of the hymns in the volume in question. It has been shown elsewhere (v. *Saturday Review*, August and September 1884: "Drummond and Dryden as Hymnologists"), and, without difficulty could be shown again, that a widespread tradition both written and unwritten exists amongst Catholics on the subject of Dryden's versions from the Latin hymns. He is supposed to have translated, towards the close of his life and after he had submitted to the Catholic Church (1685-1700), what amounts in the aggregate to a considerable body of hymns. Not unnaturally in these traditions his name is more usually connected publicly with the finest hymns of the Church, rather than with those that do not reach the highest level. But, both alike have their history and to many English versions is the name of Dryden affixed. Already these primary hymns, so to speak, have been discussed, *Veni Creator*, *Te Deum* and *Dies Irae*. To these may be added others of a like or of a similar calibre, but of varied date and authorship, amongst them *Jesu, dulcis memoria*, *Pange lingua*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, *Ave maris Stella*, *Salve Regina* and *Stabat Mater*. Hence, it would appear that a consensus of Catholic tradition, more or less trustworthy, but in

any case existent, credits Dryden with the translation of many, if not of most, of the very first hymns of the Church. And the allotment of these hymns to such a source will inferentially carry with it a large body of other hymns—in fact, the major part of the entire series “for the year” which are printed in the *Primer* of 1706. And to this point I will now address myself as briefly as possible.

The *Primer*, it may be repeated, contains 120 hymns. These 120 hymns are divisible into five portions. First, the hymns for daily use are 31 in number. Next, the hymns for the Seasons are 30 in number. Thirdly, the Saints’ days, proper and common, are represented by 42 hymns. Then, the Office of our Lady, with the Antiphons, includes 8. And lastly, the miscellaneous hymns include 9 hymns. To hymns in every one of these divisions is the name of Dryden attached with greater or less authority and in larger or fewer numbers. Already his claim upon versions in the division for the Saints’ days has been vindicated, in relation to the “hymn for St. John’s eve.” In the part termed miscellaneous, at least five out of the nine are definitely assigned to him—amongst them the *Te Deum*, St. Bernard’s hymn, the funeral prose of Thomas of Celano, Jacopone’s *Stabat Mater*, and the Pentecostal hymn of King Robert of France. In the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary three out of nine, probably, are his. And of many of these, it must be added, that they are representative hymns: *i.e.*, they form integral portions of a series of two or more hymns for special occasions, or on special subjects. But these may be passed by, in order to confine the reader’s attention, as crucial instances, to the divisions for the Day and the Hour (31 hymns) and for Holy-days and Seasons (30 hymns).

It need hardly be said, except to make the case as clear as explanation can make it, that the hymns from the Breviary which are contained in the English *Primer* for the Day or Season are, as a rule, threefold in number, viz., for Matins, for Lauds and for Vespers. Always an unity of thought and feeling, and generally a similarity of treatment obtains between these three hymns. Sometimes they are by the same author. Sometimes they are merely one long hymn divided for devotional purposes, or for convenience of singing, into three parts, each with its *gloria* as a last verse. The unity which is known, historically and theologically, to inhere in many of the Latin originals of the hymns for any given day or hour, for any given fast or festival, criticism declares to inhere also in the English translations under review. It is simply impossible to read without prejudice some, to read many of the *Primer* versions for the hours, feasts, or seasons of the Church, and to deny that, in all human probability, they owe their origin in the vernacular to one mind—I venture to say, to

one master-mind. Take, for instance, the three hymns by Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers in the 6th-7th century, viz., *Vexilla regis* and the two parts of the (Passion-tide) *Pange lingua*: or take the three Ambrosian hymns, of the 4th-5th century, for the canonical Hours of Friday and Saturday. Whosoever was the translator of any one of these three hymns for the day or season respectively, was presumably the translator of the other two, and of all the three. Of course, this cannot be proved to demonstration. But every critical instinct declares in favour of this conclusion. Bearing this in mind, there is one more element in the argument before the end be reached. It is this: there are two books of devotion, originally printed between thirty-one and forty-four years after the *Primer*, which intimately affect the question of authorship of its hymns. These are the "Garden of the Soul" (1737) and a "Manual of Prayers" (1750). Both were, I believe, compiled and edited by good Bishop Challoner: and both contain versions of some of the Vespers hymns of the Church together with certain miscellaneous hymns. Now, popular Catholic tradition assigns the authorship of all the hymns in the *Garden* and of many of the hymns in the "Manual" to Dryden. As, however, the number of hymns in the "Garden of the Soul" are fewer than those in the "Manual of Prayer," and as the latter contains all the hymns of the former—though not always the same versions, and as Dryden might have and probably did sometimes translate in duplicate—the *Garden* may be dismissed from further thought, and attention may be concentrated on the "Manual." This book of "Christian devotion" contains eight-and-twenty hymn-translations: and every one of these twenty-eight hymns is printed in the *Primer* of 1706. Seven of them are the Vespers hymns for each of the days of the week: and these Vespers hymns, as we have seen, are part and parcel of the Matins and Lauds hymns for the same seven days of the week respectively. These facts point to a common authorship for twenty-one hymns in the *Primer*. Again, ten of the versions are Vespers hymns for Holy-days and Seasons of the Church which, on the same ground and in like manner, are representatives of other twenty hymns, more or less, for Matins and Lauds respectively. And these facts suggest the authorship of about thirty fresh hymns beyond the thirty-one just named. Two or three other hymns, again, are representatives of more—but, it is useless to dwell upon these: and the residue includes hymns distinctly ascribed to or owned by Dryden, amongst others, *Te Deum*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, *Veni Creator* and (the Corpus Christi) *Pange lingua*. These calculations cover nearly the entire range of the hymns published in the *Primer* of 1706. And for myself, and I hope that I may

answer for the reader, no doubt is entertained, whether critical or moral, that these six score hymns are practically, one and all, from the hand of "glorious John" Dryden.

v.

This inquiry would be incomplete if no effort were made to give the reader an idea of the subjective proofs which have led to the conclusions arrived at in this paper. It is difficult, in the nature of things, to convey such an impression shortly. It is more difficult to impart assurance to another, from a few cases which alone can be named, when such assurance has arisen to one's self from the consideration of many cases. But I will make the effort. And to begin, as the question is one which affects translation, I will quote (somewhat condensed) Sir Walter Scott's estimate of Dryden's powers as a translator. Dryden's own judgment on the object and aim, as well as on the modes and forms of translating, with specimens, are contained (it is needless to say) in the preface to his translations from Ovid's *Epistles*. He there describes and illustrates the three kinds of translations to which he reduces all translation—metaphrase, paraphrase and imitation. And one great canon he lays down which is not always observed, but the force of which is evident in his own versions, is this, viz., that "no man is capable of translating poetry who is not a master," not of his author's language, but of his own. Before his distinguished success showed, says Scott,

"that the object of the translator should be to transfuse the spirit, not to copy servilely the very words of his original, it had been required that line should be rendered for line and almost word for word. It was reserved for Dryden manfully to claim and vindicate the freedom of a just translation, more limited than paraphrase, but free from the metaphrastic severity exacted from his predecessors. With these free principles Dryden brought to the task a competent knowledge of the language of the originals with an unbounded knowledge of his own. He paused not to weigh and sift those difficult and obscure passages at which the most learned will doubt and hesitate for the correct meaning. He seldom waited to analyse the sentence he was about to render, far less scrupulously to weigh the precise purport and value of every word it contained. If he caught the general spirit and meaning of the author and could express it in equal force in English verse, he cared not if minute elegancies were lost, or the beauties of accurate proportion destroyed, or a dubious interpretation adopted. He used abundantly the license he has claimed for a translator, to be deficient rather in the language out of which he renders, than that into which he translates. With the same spirit of haste, Dryden is often contented to present to the English reader some modern image, which he may at once fully comprehend,

instead of rendering precisely a classic expression which might require explanation or paraphrase."

Had these remarks of Scott been made after a study of the *Primer* hymns of 1706, they could hardly have been more apposite and just. Of course, exceptions can be found in the hymns to all these criticisms, specially in the matter of Catholic doctrine: for the author of "The Hind and the Panther" has proved himself to be a master in the art of versifying definitions of faith and capable of playing in metre with technical theological terms of facts, dogmas and mysteries. These general criticisms, it may be owned, can only receive from the reader a general consent, until such time as he can for himself read and study the hymns in question, or some of them. Meanwhile, I propose to examine a few of the criticisms of Mr. G. Saintsbury on Dryden's translations from classical authors which I can definitely apply to his hymnody. And the first is negative in character. There never was so great a writer, says Mr. Saintsbury (in his monograph, "Dryden," p. 135),

"who was so thoroughly occasional in the character of his greatness. The one thing which, to all appearance, he could not do, was to originate a theme."

This mental trait is examined, illustrated, defended at some length. It seems, adds the critic,

"always to have been, if not necessary, at any rate satisfactory to him, to follow some lines which had already been laid down, to accept a departure from some previous work, to match himself closely with some existing performance."

That this peculiarity is apparent also in his contributions to hymnology is clear from the fact that whilst it is possible, if not probable, that Dryden translated one hundred and twenty hymns, it is not pretended that he wrote a single hymn that was original. Next: Dryden, continues Mr. Saintsbury, "had a habit of catching up phrases and inserting them, much improved, it is true, in his own work." Thus, in the Easter (Low Sunday) hymn, *Ad regias Agni dapes*, and in reference to the overthrow of the hosts of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, the version previously published to that of the *Primer* of 1706 (in 1685) contains this couplet:

The yielding sea divides his waves;
The foes there meet their liquid graves.

But, Dryden (if it be he), whilst practically accepting the first line (with the change of "its" for "his") by a touch of genius transforms the somewhat jingling and commonplace second line, which conveys little to the imagination, into a vivid, if paradoxical, picture of the scene in the words,

Egyptians float in liquid graves.

And this is one of many instances which might be quoted. Again: "Dryden not unfrequently inserts whole lines and passages of his own"—is a remark of Mr. Saintsbury. This has been already illustrated from the *Primer* in the case of the historical line, "My God, my father and my friend," which occurs (in substance) twice, and both times with no authority from the original text. And once more: Dryden's employment in poetry of the pronouns *you* and *your* has been also referred to, and is thus annotated by Mr. Saintsbury ("Dryden," p. 31): "The extraordinary art with which the recurrence of *you* and *your*—in the circumstances naturally recited with a little stress of the voice—are varied in position so as to give a corresponding variety to the cadence of the verse, is perhaps the chief thing to be noted here."

It has been indicated that the middle portion of the hymn for St. John Baptist, which may be read below, contains a marked repetition of this peculiarity in poetical language. Another instance also can be quoted. In the Ambrosian Vespers hymn for Christmas, *Jesu, Redemptor omnium*, within the range of four verses *you* and *your* are repeated, and are needlessly repeated, not fewer than five times, in cases where the preceding version of the *Primer* either omitted the pronoun, or made use of *thou, thy, thine*. On this topic and his treatment of it, however, Mr. Saintsbury discreetly says, "I am aware that this style of criticism has gone out of fashion." I will take the hint, follow his example, and say no more on this part of the subject.

VI.

It only remains to justify the position here taken and to illustrate the estimate here formed, by making a few quotations from the *Primer* of 1706. One threefold hymn only will be printed in full: and on this one hymn I am prepared to take my stand. By the connection of two of its portions with the third, which is an acknowledged hymn of "glorious John"—if not on its intrinsic merits, though these are not small—I am content to have this discovery fairly judged by others more critically able and more familiar with Dryden's poetry than myself. For I am bold to affirm that the versions in question, presumably Dryden's contribution to English Catholic hymnody, are a discovery—and one which, I have much pleasure in adding, was made previously in order of time, but quite independently of and unknown to myself by another, a widely-read student of English hymns. This hymn, in its entirety, I shall print in the last place. It would have been of interest to have quoted in parallel columns

the earlier versions of some of the hymns, by way of comparison, and in order to estimate the improvements made by the later translator. But, the exigences of space are imperious. I must hasten to the end, and can only add a very few instances and examples of what has been written above from one division of the hymns, viz., from those for the Days and Seasons of the Church. Here then, are words, expressions, phrases, lines, or verses which are certainly Drydenesque in tone, if they be not, as I believe them to be, actually from the pen of Dryden. For instance: "lazy night," "lazy sleep" (twice), "drowsy sleep," "drowsy beds," "neglected beds," "lucid realms," "liquid realms," "liquid graves," "liquid skies," "officious stars," "vocal tears," "servile brutes," "audacious steel," "bolder spear," "hungry minds," and, to mention no more, "contagious ills." These words and expressions, it may be observed, occur in different hymns, for different occasions. Next, I submit, these expressions are characteristic of Dryden: "may all, at least, compound the arrears," "the waters purl and wash their bed," "equal unbeginning light," "loose, vicious and intruding dreams," "mighty formidable king," "succeeding hours beget the day," "hug its chains," "hug the cross," "surcharged with sin," "God of battles," "six lustras past," "Aurora climbs," "Aurora does her beams display," and "a blaze of uncreated light." Then, take these lines, and let the reader determine if they be by some ordinary translator of hymns, whilst remembering, in some cases, Dryden's taste and power for playing upon words: "our nature wore for nature's aid," "with flesh to lend our flesh his aid," "by light, to light's own fountain, God," "and laves his heavenly fleece in Jordan's waves," "the gleamy white shows Christ approaching with the light," and "loaded with spoils, each axle reels." And if we turn, for a moment, to a few of the verses which are self-marked as the outcome of a master-hand, the following may be quoted. We are now accustomed to sugared versions, by Caswall and others, of the honied hymn of St. Bernard. But, it was not always so; and our great-great-grandfathers must have been struck with one of the earliest translations:

Jesus, the only thought of thee
With sweetness fills my breast ;
But sweeter still it is to see
And on thy beauty feast.
No theme so soft, no sound so gay,
Can art of music frame ;
No words, nor even thought, can say
Thy most mellifluous name.

Dies Irae is no unmeet contrast to *Jesu, dulcis memoria*: and this is no bad specimen of the former sequence:

From that insatiable abyss,
Where flames devour and serpents hiss,
Promote me to thy seat of bliss.

The opening lines of the Wednesday Vespers hymn is also a good specimen from the *Primer*:

O Source of light, whose glorious ray
Improves the fiery noon of day,
And paints the lucid realms more bright
With beauteous gleams of burnished light.

The union of power and sweetness, of sonorous dignity and touching tenderness is well shown in the two next quotations from the (Passion-tide) *Pange lingua*:

Here God and Man an infant lies,
The narrow crib augments his cries :
Those hands by which the lightning's hurled,
And arms that grasp the bulky world,
In swathing bands are wrapt and bound
With poverty encompassed round.

* * * *

O towering tree, whose branching head
Like heaven is both sublime and spread :
No citron groves, no myrtle bowers,
Can boast such blossoms, fruits or flowers :
Since Christ's redeeming arms displayed
Create the sweetness of thy shade.

One stanza from *Stabat Mater* opens another side of the hymns :

Shall man, the cause of all his pain,
And all her grief—shall sinful man
Alone insensible remain ?

And, as a last quotation, the facility with which Dryden weaves into verse words and phrases seemingly the most unpropitious for poetry is well illustrated in these lines from the "hymn for the dedication of a church":

Thus hardest marbles, toughest oaks,
Polished and shaped by dint of strokes,
The skilful artist's able hand
Makes fit to take their place and stand,
On highest pinnacles to shine
O'er all the edifice divine.

One remark alone needs to be made in regard to these extracts. I quote them for their English only, and do not estimate them critically as translations from the Latin. On the grounds of want of space, anything approaching such an examination of these hymns is here impossible.

Lastly, I propose to offer for the critical judgment of Dryden-

experts the two unprinted portions of the "hymn for the Nativity of St. John Baptist"—unprinted, that is to say, and so far as I can learn, for more than a century past, and unknown certainly to Dryden's editor in 1808 as well as to a majority of the present generation of hymnological students. I shall first print the four stanzas "for St. John's eve," discovered by Sir Walter Scott and published by him, as for the first time, and then, the two remaining parts. This course will enable the reader to compare (without turning to Scott's edition of his works) the portion allowed to be from the pen of Dryden, with the part here claimed for the poet.

ON THE FEAST OF THE NATIVITY OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST, JUNE 24.

THE HYMN AT EVEN-SONG.

Ut queant laxis.

1. O sylvan prophet, whose eternal fame Resounds from Jewry's hills and Jordan's stream, The music of our numbers raise And tune our voice to sing thy praise.	3. He heard the news, and dubious with surprise His faltering speech in fettered ac- cents dies: But providence with happy choice In thee restored thy father's voice.
2. Heaven's messenger from high Olym- pus came To bear the tidings of thy life and name, And told thy sire each prodigy That heaven designed to work in thee.	4. From the recess of nature's inmost room Thou knewst thy Lord unborn from womb to womb; Whilst each glad parent told and blest The secrets of each other's breast.

THE HYMN AT MATINS.

Antra deserti.

5. From noisy crowds your early years recess Seeks heaven's protection in the wilderness; And makes your innocence to shine Unsullied with the least of sin.	7. All other prophets did foretell afar The glorious rising of a future star; But, greater than a prophet, you Foretold the star, and showed him too.
6. Your courtly dress was camel's rugged hide, With twisted thongs of stubborn leather tied: You drank the tasteless stream, and fed On honey, whence the locusts bred.	8. Thus God, the greatest-born of human kind, The Baptist chose; and John alone designed Him to baptize in Jordan's flood, Who all the world baptized in blood.

THE HYMN AT LAUDS.

O nimis felix.

9. Hail prince of prophets, prince of martyrs hail,
Whom Jewry nursed in her remotest vale;
Exposed without a guard or fence,
But that of milk-white innocence.

10. Three different states unequal harvest yield,
And each with blest increase adorn the field :
Thy merits all those states imply
Increased a hundredfold in thee.

11. Then powerful patron, teach us to repent,
Make all the rocks of hardened hearts relent :
Our rough and crooked ways redress,
And cultivate our wilderness.

12. That our Redeemer, when he comes, may find
No sins, like weeds, that over-run the mind :
But like some crystal fountain clear
May know his own resemblance there.

a. Glory to God the Father, and the Son,
And Holy Ghost with both in nature one ;
Whose equal power unites the three
In one eternal Trinity.

b. Heaven's brightest citizens sing praise to thee,
One God in nature and in Persons three :
On us let not thy love be lost,
But spare our souls for what they cost.

The *glorias* of the three several portions of the hymn may be conveniently printed apart. The first serves for Vespers and Matins. The last forms the conclusion of the hymn for Lauds. The former, it may be noted, was not printed by Scott.

a. Glory to God the Father, and the Son,
And Holy Ghost with both in nature one ;
Whose equal power unites the three
In one eternal Trinity.

b. Heaven's brightest citizens sing praise to thee,
One God in nature and in Persons three :
On us let not thy love be lost,
But spare our souls for what they cost.

Two points only call for remark on these versions as they appear in the vernacular, in addition to the verbal criticisms—both on the adjective “milk-white,” v. 9, and on the pronouns “you” and “your,” vv. 5, 6—and the peculiarity of metre which have been already made. 1. Three phrases at least are distinctly Drydenesque, and are common to other hymns in the *Primer* of 1706, e.g. “numbers,” v. 1. [cf. “David’s faithful number told”], “noisy crowds,” v. 5 [the adjective is actually altered in a reprint of the hymn in the “Manual,” and is made into a substantive, “noisy strife” = “noise and strife”]; and the somewhat awkward and inharmonious term “powerful” which the author here applies to “patron,” v. 11, and elsewhere to “grace” and “Word.” 2. The date also presents a difficulty, as well as marks a coincidence: Scott assigns the “hymn for St. John’s eve” (as the eye of a Dryden-critic at once detected, though a less keen sight failed to observe the fact) to June the 29th. The true date, of course, is June 24th. But, in the *Primer* of 1706, the date “June 29th” follows immediately at the end of the last stanza of the above hymn, and refers to the hymn

which is printed next in order, viz., "on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul." This mistake in transcription points several ways, though it is needless in this place to indicate which of them is the most probably true.

VII.

Since the above pages were written, two more volumes of the edition now in course of issue of "John Dryden's Works" have been published, and eight goodly volumes of the reprint have been sent for criticism, "with the publisher's compliments," to the DUBLIN REVIEW. Nothing which has been here previously written of the value and importance of the enterprising publisher's new edition requires to be modified, after a closer inspection of his work and after a careful perusal of the editor's preface, with an examination of the results of his labour of love. Indeed, the little which was incidentally said in commendation of the publication requires only to be intensified. The Edinburgh edition put forth by Mr. Paterson, under the advantageous auspices of George Saintsbury, "revised and corrected" from the edition of 1821, is the third within the period of about three-quarters of a century. This fact, though it be not intimated on the title-page, is worthy of notice: but the present edition is likely to remain for at least another three-quarters of a century, and probably for a longer time, the standard edition of the prose, poetical and dramatic works of the great English writer, and we ought to have satisfaction in adding, of the Catholic Laureate of the seventeenth century.

The third edition of Dryden's works, in its outward form, almost rises to the level of an *édition de luxe*, in everything but the cost of it. It will consist of at least eighteen volumes. In the first and chiefest element of moment, in a work to be not only consulted but read, is the print. The book is printed in a type which is eminently readable, large in size, clear in cutting and substantial in bulk—a sort of magnified Elzevir type, with differences. The page employed is a full-sized library octavo, with a comparatively small proportion of matter and a comparatively large proportion of margin, and is printed on a good quality of paper, lined or water-marked, if I am not mistaken, by machinery, in imitation of hand-made paper. The first volume is illustrated by a reproduction, by some photographic process, of a good portrait of the author after Sir Godfrey Kneller: and the work is suitably and plainly bound in a dark and *degrade* olive-tinted cloth. These details I have ventured upon in order to give a fair idea of the "get-up" of this fine edition of one of our greater literary worthies, in an age when many of the works of our older poets are cabined and confined within the boards of

a single volume, and are printed in a type and on paper which make reading almost impossible for eyes no longer young, and difficult if not actually dangerous for eyes that are not already aged.

The inner man, however, is of more importance than the costume in which an author is presented to the reader, and however much or little the latter may be affected by the accidental circumstances of the outer appearance of the volume. Unluckily, in the present case, the contents of the three editions are substantially the same. But, a new edition at the close of a century will naturally differ, to a certain extent, from an edition published at the beginning, even though little new matter has been added to works already made public. These differences had better be placed before the reader in the editor's own modest and suggestive words. Mr. Saintsbury's preface contains a clear summary of the task which he has set himself—and which thus far he has successfully completed—in reproducing "revised and corrected" the edition of Dryden's works originally issued under the supervision of Sir Walter Scott. The following are its opening sentences:—

"The best-edited book in the English language is, according to Southey, Wilkin's edition of Sir Thomas Browne. If Sir Walter Scott's 'Dryden' cannot challenge this highest position, it certainly deserves the credit of being one of the best-edited books on a great scale in English, save in one particular—the revision of the text. In reading it long ago, with no other object than to make acquaintance with Dryden; again, more recently and more minutely, for the purpose of a course of lectures which I was asked to deliver at the Royal Institution; and again, more recently and more minutely still, for the purposes of a monograph on the same subject in Mr. Morley's series of *English Men of Letters*, I have had tolerably ample opportunity of recognising its merits. It was therefore with pleasure that I found, on being consulted by the publisher of these volumes as to a re-issue of it, that Mr. Paterson was as averse as I was myself to any attempt to efface or to mutilate Scott's work. Neither the number, the order, nor the contents of Scott's eighteen volumes will be altered in any way. The task which I propose to myself is a sufficiently modest one, that of re-editing Scott's 'Dryden,' as—putting differences of ability out of question—he might have re-edited it himself had he been alive to-day; that is to say, to set right errors into which he fell either by inadvertence or deficiency of information, to correct the text in accordance with modern requirements, and to add the results of the students of Dryden during the last three-quarters of a century in matter of text as well as of comment."

After some statements on certain new matter, apparently of no great moment, which he has secured for the present edition, and on certain matter, of much more importance, which he has

been powerless to obtain—to one sentence of which reference must be made below—Mr. Saintsbury thus proceeds :

“The principles upon which I have proceeded in re-editing the text require somewhat fuller explanation. Dryden never superintended any complete edition of his works, but on the other hand there is evidence in his letters that he bestowed considerable pains on them when they first passed through the press. The first editions have therefore in every case been followed, though they have been corrected in case of need by the later ones. But the adoption of this standard leaves unsettled the problem of orthography, punctuation, &c. I have adopted a solution which will not, I fear, be wholly agreeable to some of my friends. Capital letters and apostrophes, and the like, will be looked for in vain.”

The editor defends his plan of modernizing Dryden’s spelling and stopping, on the ground that the contrary plan would have proved “a nuisance and a stumbling-block to the ordinary reader.” Where, he continues,

“a writer has written in a distinctly archaic form of language, as in the case of all English writers before the Renaissance, adherence to the original orthography is necessary and right. Even in the so-called Elizabethan age, where a certain archaism of phrase survives, the appreciation of temporal and local colour may be helped by such an adherence. But Dryden is in every sense a modern. His list of obsolete words is insignificant, of archaic phrases more insignificant still, of obsolete construction almost a blank. If any journalist or reviewer were to write his to-morrow’s leader, or his next week’s article in a style absolutely modelled on Dryden, no one would notice anything strange in it, except perhaps that the English was a good deal better than usual. There can therefore be no possible reason for erecting an artificial barrier between him and his readers of to-day, especially as that barrier would be not only artificial but entirely arbitrary.”

One sentence only from Mr. Saintsbury’s preface requires further notice in this place. It contains the following denial: “No literary work of Dryden’s of any great importance has been discovered since Scott’s edition appeared.” Mr. Saintsbury has promised his readers, in a term which is expressive if singular, and defensible though odd-sounding, a “post-face” to his labours. In this post-face I confidently entertain the hope that the denial above quoted may be exchanged for an assertion. If the arguments which have been advanced in the present article and elsewhere be sound, a literary work of some moment has been discovered since Sir Walter’s edition appeared; and it may be added, without presuming to estimate the capacity of the witnesses, has been discovered by two independent hymnological students. It is believed that in the forthcoming “Dictionary of

Hymns," a similar plea to the present will be submitted for public criticism by another hand, or possibly by more than one hand. If this be so, for I only rely upon hearsay, and if the arguments from different premises and by different routes end in a common conclusion, then, the independent evidence of at least two literary witnesses ought not, without good cause, to be ignored. In such a case, and without prejudging the opinion of more competent critics and of students more conversant with Dryden's works than I can honestly claim to be—and I speak only for myself—then, I venture to appeal, on behalf of the hymn-translations above described, for a place for them in the new edition of this great English classic. The exact place they ought to occupy I do not take upon me to decide: but I plead that some place may be found for the six-score hymns which are, or the majority of which are, certainly Drydenesque if they be not actually from the pen of Dryden. Whether as genuine, or as spurious, or as of uncertain origin, they deserve, I submit, to be reprinted from the *Primer* of 1706, and to be handed down to posterity in an edition that will prove not to be ephemeral. It is within the bounds of possibility that, with a view of still more widely testing the truth of the surmise above elaborated, I may be enabled to reprint, in a small volume, for further criticism, the hymns in question. In the meanwhile, with every wish for the commercial success of the present handsome edition of the works of "glorious John," I desire to make a final proposal, viz., that in the place of eighteen volumes the works of the Laureate may be extended to nineteen volumes, and that the last volume may be devoted, firstly, to a reprint of the admirable monograph contributed by the editor to Mr. John Morley's series of "English Men of Letters," which clearly ought not to be permanently severed from the works which it ably illustrates; and secondly, to the publication for the first time within the memory of this generation, of the translations ascribed to Dryden as a hymnodist.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

ART. II.—THE BATTLE OF THEISM.

Die Grossen Welträthsel (The Great Enigmas of the World).
Von TILMANN PESCH, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder.
1883.

THE volumes I am here introducing, probably for the first time, to English readers are as interesting as they are large, and that is saying a great deal. They extend to fourteen hundred pages, and, *mirabile dictu*, are furnished with indices and other means of compassing their vast bulk which, as one seldom gets them in learned Germany, one does not anticipate. Yet I will not do F. Tilman Pesch the injustice of saying that I have not read him because the indices spared me that trouble. On the contrary, I bear witness that he deserves to be read and read again. His subject is fascinating; he approaches it on what seems to me the right side, that of physical science; and to erudition which in its province may be styled universal, he adds the secret of handling it easily and to the purpose. Nothing less than the relations of "modern science" to the philosophy of the schools is the theme which he pursues with the ardour of a scholastic, and a loyalty to St. Thomas Aquinas that never falters even in the disputed regions of *Materia Prima*. Sometimes the genius of the system he is attacking compels him to be humorous; and he is then hearty, natural, amusing, and a hard-hitter. But his strength lies in the discussion of physical problems, to which he brings immense knowledge, and a quick eye for the revolutions, of late so startling, in scientific opinion. His path is traced mainly by the fortunes of Darwinism in Germany and its influence on religion; and his purpose, I may say, is to encounter by scientific considerations the peril arising thence to Theism. It is under the guidance of this well-informed work that I propose to indicate the principles of that great *Culturkampf* of which the May Laws were but a feeble shadow. We, too, in England, are engaged in the like conflict of thought and have to encounter the same arguments; nor can we do better than follow the line which our German Catholic brethren are taking. And therefore I call my paper the Battle of Theism.

Five-and-twenty years ago the "Origin of Species" appeared, and with it began a fresh stage of popular metaphysics, insomuch that, hereafter, A.D. 1859 may be set down by admiring historians as the era of Darwin. Perhaps, as Wigand sarcastically observes, Darwin has proved none of the theories associated with his name, but has only "wrapped them up in facts," which is not quite the

same thing as proving them. Certain, however, it is that his writings have been the token and, in part, the cause of a great revolution in men's ways of thinking. Like the yeast plant, they have brought on a rapid fermentation all round them ; their fame has sprung up in a moment, yet it may equal the fame of Kant's "Critique," or of Newton's "Principia ;" whilst in minds to which the Book of Genesis has grown to be incredible, Darwin's, though uninspired, is the only Bible. Not that scientific men have denied themselves the pleasure of modifying his statements ; for are not they too original observers ? As Wigand again remarks, natural selection, like "a King of Rats," is one theory bringing with it ten thousand others. But his professional brethren have so far done homage to the great man as scrupulously to retain his phrases, and to allow that certain of his principles must be recognized in all future theories of evolution. That doctrine itself is preached from pulpit and platform ; and though here and there a ruler of science may be seen shaking his head mournfully, to the common eye such a one is the Legitimist of biology, and his protest attributed to feeling, instinctive Conservatism, or the fossil condition of the grey matter of his brain. He may be speaking as he thinks, but not according to knowledge. The name of Darwin suggests that of Newton, and the one is said by his theory of selection to have done for the science of life what the other by his formula of gravitation did for astronomy. Charles Darwin is an acknowledged master of European thought.

But in no country has he exerted a wider influence, or helped towards a more striking revolution, than in Germany. Of him as of Prince Bismarck it may be affirmed that he has been victorious over the past, and creative on a great scale of all that promises to live and flourish in the future. How serious a change he has wrought we may estimate by considering the distance to which certain constellations have receded which forty years ago were ruling over German metaphysics. The great system of Hegel is rapidly sinking below the horizon ; Schelling and Fichte are already set. Kant, indeed, still rays out dubious light ; he seems the Charles's Wain of his native sky, never destined to go down ; and Goethe, a thinker but no metaphysician, reigns on high. But what a testimony to Darwinism is the well-known fact that Kant and Goethe are in large measure prized because they seem to have anticipated either the principles or the chief bearings of it ? If there be writers who, like Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann, without carrying on the main line of German thought, are yet interesting, powerful, and characteristic, they too have expounded philosophy as a system of development akin to Darwin's, though of apparently wider scope ; and Von Hart-

mann accepts the conjectures of the "Origin of Species" and the "Descent of Man," as throwing light on his grotesque description of the travels of the Unconscious in search of felicity. As for Hegel, whom I noticed a moment ago as a setting star, it is surely most remarkable that whilst no philosopher has insisted more on the idea, the laws, and the stages of evolution, his speculations now chiefly serve to illustrate with more or less point what Darwin has written.

This alone would arrest attention, as indicating the charm that English thought may have for Germans. We have long credited them with philosophizing on behalf of other European races, too busy, prosperous, or indolent to think for themselves. Yet that enlightened country is now taking as the very revelation of the spirit of the age, a theory that Englishmen like Darwin and Wallace have by the study of infinite facts made their own. But this is not all. If one thing more than another distinguished German speculation in the days of Hegel, it was the supreme disregard it showed for *facts*. That a theory should not once come in sight of the facts, or should run counter to them if it did, was nothing in the eyes of a Teuton. He felt proud that he need not sojourn in the desert to draw a camel; for camels, too, like all other forms of sensation, dwelt in that large consciousness of his, and could be evolved thence without further trouble than the puffing out of an extra cloud of tobacco-smoke. It was the mission of every student at Göttingen to construct the universe *a priori*; and those whose genius forbade them to write ballads or compose for the violin, turned their thoughts with Fichte to the creation of worlds and of deities. "To-morrow, meine Herren, we will make God," said the Stoic author of the "Doctrine of Science." Why not indeed? To a German, the universe and God Himself were but a phantom of the Brocken projected on the boundless mist of his own vague thoughts. Nor, when thinking cost so little, could a man dream of borrowing from his neighbour; to create one's own system was cheaper and helped one to a competence in agreement with the saying which Schopenhauer too bitterly calls the device of the chair of metaphysics, "Primum vivere, deinde philosophari." In this way only, as a means of furnishing one with top-boots and sauerkraut, did Idealism come in contact with Realism. And the world went merrily on, and Hegel's *Phænomenologie* and Hoffmann's *Tales of Wonder* had about an equal resemblance to anything existing in the heavens above or the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth. And it was as natural for a fresh lecturer or Privat-docent to differ from all his predecessors and announce that he had a scheme of Pantheism, or Panlogism, or Pan-anythingism in his pocket as for him to smile incredulously on hearing, if so be,

that any of his disciples held by the Nicene Creed. And Germany was as ever the kingdom of cloudland. But upon Hegel's decease, much, though not all of this, came to an end. After floating hither and thither like a bird of Paradise in the regions of the air for nearly a century, without once touching the ground, German thought has grown ashamed of its magnificent but idle wings ; and alighting on earth is now content, like the soberest of barn-door fowl, to pick up what grains of corn may lie within reach. Philosophy has been abandoned, and experimental science reigns in its stead. The Germans are proud that gunpowder and printing were invented among them ; late years have made it known to Europe that they are to be dreaded equally with the breechloader as with the microscope. They are capable indeed of doing great mischief with both. For if they have struck down atheist France with the one, they have done their best to make an end of Theism with the other, offering quite a novel application of Dante's well-worn verse—

A Dio spiacenti ed a' nemici sui.

Of course I do not say that Darwin's speculations alone have to answer for so complete a revolution ; their success was a proof that Germans had been looking for something more fruitful than Idealism and its empty phrases ; and therefore I have spoken of it as the token even more than the cause of that change. Nor was there a lack of foreboding prophecies. To take only one : Schopenhauer's philosophy, which at the beginning of the century could not gain the ear of a public given over to *Windbeutelei*, as he contemptuously styled the solemn-seeming contradictory farrago of Schelling and Hegel, was studied with admiration and interest years before the "Origin of Species." But no one that has read Schopenhauer will deny that, in spite of extravagance and perversity, he is much more in contact with the facts of life than any of his contemporaries. He sets himself expressly to collect and collate facts ; he appeals to them over and over again in confirmation of his theory ; and he declares with entire truth that in consequence of his keeping an eye on facts, it is possible to begin studying him anywhere and impossible to reduce his books to an abstract formula. This is even more the case in his later essays, the "Parerga und Paralipomena," than in his "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung ;" and it is this which makes him so interesting compared with Hegel or Fichte. As in many things else, so in this, Schopenhauer anticipated the tendencies of German thought by some fifty years ; and it is because in his pages they seem to behold their countenances as in a glass that Germans of to-day are so much influenced by him. But on this I cannot dwell, and must content myself with indi-

eating the growth of Schopenhauer's popularity as a sign that the ways of German Idealism were being deserted for newer paths. The day was at hand when Idealism could not raise its head in Germany without appealing to facts as the necessary condition or confirmation of its truth ; when it would be required to prove itself a revelation by works. The spectre of the Brocken was to be no ghost, but the reflection of a solid and unmistakable reality ; and we may expect the line of German savans to go on stretching out, like the vision of kings in Macbeth. To the names of Fraunhofer in optics, of Schwann and Stricker in histology, of Wundt, Virchow, and Johannes Müller in general physiology, of Helmholtz in acoustics and the allied sciences, of Kölliker and Nägeli in botany—I take almost at haphazard a handful of instances from the crowd—there will be added as many in proportion as the degree of technical education in German schools excels that at present attainable in France or England. For good or for evil, and I do not myself know why it should not be greatly for good, physical science must be nowadays the indispensable preliminary to theories of life. That famous saying, "Nihil in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu," will be applied to the very making of religion as of metaphysics ; and thinkers will be asked how their speculations correspond with ascertained physical facts before evolving them in detail. This, at least, will be laid down as the only safe method, and if neglected or misapplied, will still remain an axiom. And thus too, we may say, "Primum vivere, deinde philosophari,"—life before theory.

With this method, for my part, I have no quarrel. Facts are as unassailable in their way as first principles ; nor can the exigencies of reality be set aside unless we would give the men of physical science leave to disown the necessities of thought. But with the change of method or *tactics* in philosophical discussion there has sprung up a serious danger, and that all over the civilized world. Sir David Brewster, as Mr. Spencer has been reminding us, advocated a paid "priesthood of science." Paid or unpaid, the priesthood now exists ; it is an undeniable fact. It has superseded, or is threatening to supersede, all other priesthoods, to make an end of the solitary kings of metaphysics and the aristocracies of religion. And the multitude which, by definition as I may say, can neither furnish itself with the means of holy living, nor analyze its fundamental principles of thought, nor experiment with facts, is now feeling, not vaguely but with a fast-growing consciousness, that the last word rests neither with priests nor philosophers, but with the professors of physics, or, as it is loosely termed, with *Science*. The multitude cannot but lean upon authority, nor take its word as less than infallible, nor discern where that infallible authority resides but by yielding in

every age to the influences surrounding it, to the atmosphere or the environment. Individuals of no marked capacity for thought and no great moral force must needs go with the stream; and so a universal rush is made in one direction. And Germany, which broke away from revealed authority at Luther's bidding, and submitted for a long hundred years to the yoke of Pure Thought, has now, like the rest of Europe, begun to believe that whatsoever things "Science" cannot discover are unknowable, and whatsoever things Science cannot verify must be false. To quote Mr. Matthew Arnold, speaking in this matter for others besides his own countrymen, "Whatever is to stand, must rest upon something which is verifiable, not unverifiable." Verifiable, we ask, how? And Mr. Arnold answers, "How? why, as you verify that fire burns, *by experience*."* It is obvious that when men have begun to speak of verifying the principles of metaphysics or the traditions of religion *by experience*, they will turn to the class of teachers whose very *raison d'être* is that they experiment, and only by means of experimenting, draw their conclusions. Thus shall we arrive at Sir David Brewster's "priesthood of science." It was hinted the other day by one of our most distinguished Catholic savans, not that every priest should become a professor of biology, but that it would be well if most priests knew a little of biology. May not the reason have been, in Mr. Mivart's thought, that whether priests are biologists or no, every biologist will soon be one of Sir David Brewster's "priests?" That transformation, assuredly, is taking place. When Von Nägeli, at Munich, declares that "we can but know that of which the senses give us information;" that all our knowledge is therefore restricted to "the finite, the changeable, and the transitory;" and that "to cross the boundary of the finite is ridiculous;" instead of being rebuked for crossing, in this very declaration, the boundary of that "Science" whose exponent he sets up to be, he is admired by many as speaking with the authority which careful experiment and rigorous induction alone can give.† I will not delay here over the sentiment itself, which, with almost pardonable violence, has been denounced as "the bestiality of science." For I must hasten to point out another circumstance which has contributed far more than the study of any facts to make science bestial and unbelieving. It would never have usurped so great authority had Christian teachers in the Fatherland not betrayed their trust.

From the day that Lessing edited the "Wolfenbüttel Fragments," Christianity as an objective religion may be said to

* "Lit. and Dogma," p. 336.

† Tilmann Pesch, vol. i. p. 25.

have existed in Germany on sufferance. It has become, almost in self-defence, less and less dogmatic. To lighten the vessel as it laboured in the trough of the sea, one after another the articles of the Creed have gone overboard. Lying humbly at the feet, now of philosophy and now of religion, religion has besought them that it might live, if not as having a claim on the intellect, yet as soothing the heart. It has been content to survive, a pensioner on the bounty of its proud step-sisters. But could it, though content, survive long? Forty years ago, Schleiermacher, whom some have glorified as the St. John of the nineteenth century, looking sadly forward, wrote in these terms to a friend:—

Considering the present condition of natural science, and how it is growing more and more to be an all-embracing science of the universe, what does your mind forebode of the future,—I do not say of our theology—but of our evangelical Christianity altogether? I fear we must learn to live without many things which a multitude are yet accustomed to look upon as bound inseparably with the essence of the Christian faith. I shall not live to see that time. But you and the men of your age, what think you of doing? Shall you entrench yourselves behind these outworks, and suffer yourselves to be blockaded by science? The furious cannonade of scorn will harm you little; but not so the blockade, the lack unto utter starving, of science.

Facts, he thought, would be too much for Christianity when they were built up into scientific formulæ. Nor can it be doubted that for German Protestant Christianity, on the whole, they have been too much. Schleiermacher himself could not away with a “transcendental God.” He called such a notion “mythology.” To him God was something high and holy, dwelling in the world, not a power going beyond it, as we believe, utterly independent of it, and inhabiting His own eternity whilst upholding all things. But since Schleiermacher’s time the crisis has been hastened, and events have told more and more upon the feeble framework of that Evangelical Union which he helped the King of Prussia to found. It is only the piety and authority of the Emperor that hinders the Church in Prussia from discarding even the Apostles’ Creed, the contents of which a multitude, perhaps a majority, of the clergy have long since degraded to myth and parable. In their anxiety to show themselves on a level with the “men of science” (whom religion once thought honoured were they but hewers of wood and drawers of water for the temple), the so-called “Liberal Protestant” ministers at Berlin and elsewhere have judged they could do no better than exchange their Theism for Pantheism, and preach the All and One—a deity of whom, for reasons of their own, scientific unbelievers are not in the least afraid. Thus Pfleiderer not only rejects Theism,

but does so expressly on religious grounds, alleging that "belief in a personal God, implying individual existence on the part both of God and the creature, is a hindrance to the highest realization of holiness in act; while the reciprocal communion made possible by the divine Immanence is a notion easy to be carried into execution, once the revolting idea of the personality of the Absolute has been abandoned." * Lipsius of Jena is precise in defining his position. The idea of a Personal God to his mind is, without question, a contradiction in thought and an impossibility. It cannot therefore be admitted in a philosophical view of things; but for the human consciousness it is indispensable, man's nature being such that he cannot but personify what he worships. And Herr Biedermann, agreeing that the idea is in itself a contradiction, thinks it may be employed yet awhile as a help to the religious imagination. I do not quote these sayings as in their nature astonishing, or in their presentment novel; but it is surely a remarkable fact that they are the utterances of men setting themselves down "in the catalogue" as ministers of the Gospel of Christ. No wonder that Von Hartmann, scornfully taking stock of these things, has discerned in them not only "the crisis of Christianity in the theology of to-day," but the very "suicide of the Christian Church." † Granting, as I do with all my heart, that of late years another and a less destructive tendency has made itself to some extent felt in the religious circles of the Fatherland, I cannot pretend that, taken altogether, Germany is other than these quotations picture it to us. It is a country where reckless criticising has hewed and hacked the Bible into more pieces than Typhon made of the body of Osiris; where Jesus Christ is forgotten, or turned to a childish legend, or lost in the throng of human teachers; where the Christian religion is emptied of its whole dogmatic and much of its ethical contents, and with a label to tell us that it is sacred but has nothing within it, is set on the shelves of a mausoleum in company with the funeral vases of Greeks, Romans, and Etruscans.

Meanwhile the modern equivalent for religion with Germans, as with a certain circle of Englishmen, is "culture." Goethe has said, with incomparably more grace and power than his latest imitator, "Wer hat Wissenschaft und Kunst, der hat Religion." Science for the intellect, art for the feelings, and in art a symbolism shadowing forth the unity of all things that analytic science cannot express, with these we are told the whole man may

* Tilmann Pesch, vol. ii. p. 20.

† The latter of these brochures was published in 1873, the former in 1880.

be made happy. "What more canst thou desire, O my soul?" cries the poet; and again, "Why wilt thou wander all abroad, see how nigh the good lies unto thee?" For it is "wandering all abroad," according to this framer of delightful songs and dangerous adages, if I yearn after a living God with whom I may hold communion, or a Son of God in the flesh, to announce His Father's will to me. Truly German thought is straitened on every side, and there is a wonderful consensus of authority, including Kant and Goethe, Hegel and Schopenhauer and Strauss, Schleiermacher and Feuerbach and Lange and Lazarus Geiger, in the doctrine that we must make the phenomenal world our God or do without one. How can it seem surprising if a generation to whom such thoughts are familiar turns from even the poets, to say nothing of the clergy, when it would be instructed in the nature of things, and seeks knowledge on the lips of physical science? For it is not pretended that the poets know the laws of things, whereas the teacher of "science" discourses day and night concerning law. To him accordingly the German youth have been flocking these twenty years, and whilst they amuse their leisure with a little art, religious or irreligious as they may fancy it, for the conduct of life they take not even Goethe as a master, but Darwin interpreted to the meanness of their capacity by Professor Häckel of Jena. I grant that the rebuke addressed in Goethe's "Prose Sayings" to the mathematicians is equally deserved on the part of physicists; that they are "strange people, and because of the great things they accomplish have formed themselves into a kind of universal guild, being averse to admit anything that does not fall within their circle, or that refuses to be handled by their instruments." But is it not this very Goethe that has bidden his disciples work and move within the narrow sphere of things knowable (meaning phenomena), and that has mocked with light Voltairean laughter the "prophets" in the midst of whom he sat unconcerned, a child of this world, and not of that "sphere of darkness," the next? How can he seem aught to the cultivated of the nineteenth century but an apostle of the finite and the infinitesimal? There is, then, apparently no escape from the absolute sway of "science;" nor for Germans to whom Christianity is "Ein überwundener Standpunkt," a thing of the past, a milestone long since out of view, is escape conceivable. In divesting themselves of faith in revelation, they have put off Idealism too. But I do not mean that they are not struggling against so harsh a destiny. It would be worth our while to consider what they are attempting, whether to save their feet from slipping into the bog of materialism, or actually to break open a way, different from the old and if possible safer, into those regions of the light of thought where the genius

of their country has loved to fix his dwelling,—I suppose one may quote Schiller's lines again, for they are always new—

In den heitern Regionen,
Wo die reinen Formen wohnen.

But, interesting as these struggles are, they can never be described as hopeful. They do not promise to succeed. The German spirit is banned like Merlin within the viewless walls of an enchanted castle, walls clear as diamond and as impenetrable. Those walls of adamant are the axioms accepted by every German metaphysician from the hands of Kant, and laid down by that mighty magician in the "Critique of Pure Reason." As is well known, they may be resumed in a single word, Phenomenism. If an atheistic doctrine of evolution has grown as fast as Jonah's gourd, the reason is that a congenial soil was prepared for it. Darwin has furnished by induction results which Kant obtained on a method *a priori* by examining the structure of the mind itself. There is the closest logical connection between Phenomenism, Materialism, and popular Darwinism, all of which combine in a theory that leaves no room for God. I have touched upon the impetus given to science among Germans concurrently with the decay of Christian and Theistic beliefs. It follows to exhibit science building up a system of knowledge upon the foundations laid by Kant. For in this way alone shall we reach to the inward meaning of Darwinism and grasp the method of its refutation. First, I say, it rests on a philosophy of negation, and next it issues in practical Materialism, whilst it can be overthrown and Theism established on its ruins only by restoring, inductively and deductively, the doctrine of a purpose in Nature, or of final causes. This is the task that lies before Christian philosophers. Let us take these points in order, illustrating them from the latest utterances of scientific men in Germany.

Phenomenism is a word of two meanings. It signifies that we can know things only as they appear, not as perhaps they are, and it implies that to know them as they appear is our duty. Thus we may describe it in the form of a doctrine of nescience, and equally in the form of a doctrine of science. These are the two sides of the shield of Kantism. Du Bois-Reymond's discourses on "The Limits of Natural Science" and "The Seven Enigmas of the World," bid us contemplate the dark side of the shield whereon we read the single word *Ignorabimus*, "We will be content not to know." Von Nägeli, answering him, turns the shield, and exhibits a contrary devise, "Wir wissen und wir werden wissen,"—"We know, and we shall know." But these disputants are really at one. What are the "Riddles of the World" which Du Bois-Reymond dismisses as insoluble, as

having in the region of human thought no answer? They are all concerned with the origin and meaning of things, whence matter comes, and life and thought, and whether they have a purpose. He holds with Lange, the latest critic of Materialism, that we can certainly never know the inside of things, for we cannot even know their outside, Science being a part of the "subjective illusion" in which we are wrapped. Ignorabimus means that an ape or an ascidian knows as much about God and immortality as man can learn. Nor does Von Nägeli join issue with the sect of ignorance on this point. All he maintains is the validity of science and the assurance of its larger growth. He, too, proclaims with tuck of drum that we know for certain no more than the ape or the ascidian. A Roman poet has bidden us—

To these injunctions Von Nägeli would return precisely the same answer as Du Bois-Reymond, *non possumus*. The partisans of nescience and those to whom science is a widening light, agree that the "causes of things" are beyond our ken. Herr von Nägeli, binding intellect as a slave to sense, can never get it free again; he concedes it but "a most fragmentary knowledge of the universe," and denies it that vision of the essences of things from which alone morality and religion can arise. What comfort has the soul in being assured by him, that, "when we are able to measure, count, and weigh a phenomenon, we may be said to *know it*?" These "clear ideas" will hardly satisfy our longing for the ideal, for the true human knowledge, without which the spirit pines and life has lost its savour. Let us make the experiment. The soul is troubled; conscience whispers dreadful things of the future and the unknown; grief sits melancholy by our fireside, and makes no movement to be going; there is in the heart a silent cry for light and strength to carry the burden laid on us, and once more to hope; and Professor von Nägeli offers us for consolation the multiplication-table, and the list of combining proportions! "These things," he cries joyfully, "we do know; and in time we shall know more of them." Is this much better than Du Bois-Reymond's *Ignorabimus*?

But, indeed, it is worse; for scientific men of the faction of knowledge are always constructing the world anew, as they say, on facts. Guided unconsciously by Rosmini's principle, "Assume as little as possible in the making of your philosophy," they pro-

* Persius, Sat. 3.

ceed, after a fashion that would have astonished Rosmini, to assume the least possible by taking phenomena as their own explanation. The unfruitful mystery of "the thing in itself," is not to their taste. "It is certain," they argue, "that we know phenomena. Why should it not be the whole account of them that phenomena they are? Let us assume that, and look upon man as a part of Nature, phenomenal like the rest, and we shall have got rid of metaphysics in the old uncomfortable sense of the word." This was the thought of Bacon, when he wrote, "Post physicam inventam, metaphysica nulla erit." And now Feuerbach has told us that the metaphysics of the future will be chemistry, whilst Häckel rejoices that the day is coming when life will be resolved into a species of crystallization, and not inorganic matter only, but the whole of consciousness will find its analysis and explanation in the atomic theory. "Mechanical Monism," he declares, "will resolve the complex activity of the world-process, from the antecedents of inorganic Nature to the obscure incidents of man's history, into a thorough-going mechanism of atoms, and will reveal the idea of the universe (sought in vain by speculation in a thought, an end, or a plan), will reveal it, I say, in a single formula of mechanics."* This may explain why people, when off their guard, are apt to speak of the modern Kantian as a Materialist, for does he not propound his Ignorabimus in terms of matter? Hence, too, he is commonly reckoned an enthusiast for "atoms and the void," concerning which he perorates with such an air of conviction. Lange may scorn them, but the less refined Büchner has announced that physical science demonstrates the existence of atoms, and calls this one of its noblest triumphs. He knows that Phenomenism would acquiesce in the discovery—nay, would buy it at a great price. What though Otto Liebmann has remarked on the conception of atoms as "relative and limitary," and Schulze mocked, as a dreamer of dreams, the experimentalist that professes to have seen them with a microscope, and to be able to sketch their position on a black-board! If they are necessary to atheistic science, it is plain that they exist. To call them, as again Schulze does, "an imaginary supposition of the way in which things are really related," is to be false to the interests of "science." Still more so when Du Bois-Reymond concludes that, "on close examination, a metaphysical atom will turn out to be nonsense." It may be true, as Virchow says, that "physical phenomena lead us back to propositions which, in large measure, are so hypothetical, that it may be questioned whether in the event they will stand." And he may instance this very doctrine

* Tilmann Pesch, vol. ii. p. 112.

of atoms, "which no one has yet proved to be a satisfactory conclusion to our views of Nature." In like manner, Kekulé, a high authority, may tell us it is only speculating to assign definite atomic weights to the elements. All over Europe, scientific men may begin to suspect that there are problems in chemistry which even as a "working conception" the theory of atoms will not solve. The "void" of Lucretius again, a necessary complement of the atomic theory, may be neither demonstrated nor compatible with an all-pervading medium such as ether. And this of the ether, too, may be no longer firmly held; for, as discoveries multiply, the ground moves uneasily beneath the feet of science.* Yet Büchner, Vogt, and the rest of them will not dream of expunging the first article of their creed, "I believe in atoms." The impression will still be given that modern science has reinstated Lucretius, and that Lucretius and Darwin elucidate between them the entire sphere of experience in which Kant has imprisoned us. It may be, as it is, the real teaching of science that it employs atoms as it would counters, that the void is a "convenient fiction," and that it has no knowledge of Lucretius, the metaphysician. But these sticklers for fact are not to be argued down. If not square atoms, then spiral smoke-rings, and if not a vacuum, then a material ether must serve their turn and be the whole account of things. For, when Materialism fails, there is in the long-run no alternative but to admit final causes. Materialism is the great intrenched camp wherein atheism defends itself, the earthworks behind which it fights. Phenomenists say, "We must deny a purpose in Nature, else we shall be compelled to admit God; and, if we deny purpose, we cannot resist the conclusion that things are the outcome of Matter and Chance; for Mind and Chance are incompatible." Such is their line of defence; so it is that they become, as a rule, enthusiasts for matter; and now at last we may perceive the inward meaning of Darwinism.

For the theory of natural selection, though patient of a Theistic and Christian rendering, was in the mind of its author and his chief disciples intended to drive final causes out of the field. This is why the battle of Theism rages round Darwin. The argument from design of which Bacon says in another connection, that it throws over things an air of the ideal, has ever been most effective in controversy as in popular teaching; it seemed, and well it might, to make the existence of a living God as real and visible as the exquisite construction of a nerve or the beauty of a flower. What a crushing reverse, then, for religion, could it be shown that neither design

* On this interesting subject, consult Professor Mivart's suggestive and curious paper, "Mechanical Philosophy," in the *British Quarterly Review* for April, 1884.

nor intelligence was necessary, that "aimless chance" in the struggle of ten thousand forces might bring about all we ascribe to the purpose of the Creator! This, in theory, every one must have believed that did not believe in God; but, until Darwin, the vast amount of detailed circumstantial evidence requisite to counterbalance the Christian's appeal to facts was not forthcoming. Darwin's method precipitated the intelligent elements of the world, and left a *caput mortuum* which might be due to Eternal Energy, but was no product of Mind. He has thrown the whole weight of inductive science on the side of unbelief; and in this respect at least is the most powerful advocate of anti-theism the world has ever seen. Schleiermacher prophesied a blockade of Religion by "Science," but Darwin has turned it into a furious cannonade. No wonder infidels rejoice over him. They are not quite satisfied indeed. Herr Broun reminds him that loyal evolutionists object, not to multiplied acts of creation, but to any. Darwin, he said, would have committed a fatal error in allowing (what it does not appear that he ever seriously did allow) a creative act even as regards the lowest *algæ*. In as decided a tone Theodor von Bischoff declares that the idea of creation would be a most dangerous and objectionable barrier to scientific inquiry. Oscar Caspari has said that "the Darwinian theory is inconsistent with any view that upholds the existence of a transcendental Creator of the world who, like a *Deus ex machina*, should guide and govern all things." And, as I have had occasion to remark in the pages of this REVIEW, Strauss held precisely the same attitude towards Darwinism in his "Old and New Faith."* It may be true, as I have said, that there is an interpretation of the principle of natural selection which will leave Christianity unscathed and theology a science; but obviously it is not that version of it, but one diametrically opposed to Theism, to which Darwin owes his triumph. To quote Wigand for the last time, "Scientific theories discussed on their merits and rigidly tested, make but slow progress; Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton, waited long to be recognized by the world at large." Not so Darwin. The reason of the difference must be sought in the practical bearing of his theories. They made short work with religion. They announced that man is of one substance and origin with the brutes, that morality is ingrained custom, conscience a sense of expediency, human relations the outcome of instinct. They did away with the necessity of a God. Surely there are men in whose ears this would sound as a pleasing tale; and many more that might resist its influence, yet be troubled,

* *Vide DUBLIN REVIEW*, July, 1875, "Modern Society and the Sacred Heart."

fascinated, perhaps for a time subdued; while passion and self-will would discover in the "Origin of Species" a justification of liberties that Theism has ever held in check.

This, I take it, is the root of the matter. With much force and clearness it has been stated by the heir to an illustrious name, J. H. Fichte. He writes in his "Questions and Criticisms":—

To denote the peculiar genius of the current philosophy, the old formulas will no longer serve, the opposition between Pantheism and Deism, Dualism and Monism, or, when the origin of ideas is in question, Sensism and Intellectualism, Idealism and Realism; or, lastly, the quarrel of Dynamism and Atomism. All these special antagonisms are to-day gone by; they are swallowed up by the opposition between the mechanical and teleological views of things; or, in more brief and pregnant phrase, between Theism and Atheism. The great *Culturkampf* carried by the age we live in into all the branches of scientific education, centres in that highest and last alternative, whether, viz., in the moral as in the physical world blind necessity rules as an irresistible law of Nature, or whether, on the contrary, the visible universe, the inner world of conscious spirit, and their collective activities, are to be explained and comprehended in the last resort on the idea, however we conceive of it, of an absolutely intelligent principle.

Yes, that is the meaning of Darwinism. Science is busy with its fresh cosmogonies, and men and women are asking whether experience, civilization, and mature knowledge demonstrate that there is no God. The "priesthood of science" bids them shun anthropomorphism, final causes, the notion of free-will, or of a break in the continuity of Nature. Darwin himself tells them that science is agnostic. But an unknowable God is a contradiction; if He cannot reveal Himself, it is a proof that He does not exist. The course of things is showing that when men can no longer believe in God, they will by natural momentum subside into dogmatic disbelief, not graced with the sad poetry of a George Eliot, or a Senancour, or an Arthur Clough, but rude and fierce and impure, like the horrible cynicism that befools so much of the life of France. And infidelity will have its janissaries, and the good of humanity will be murdered by them. Let us not be deceived. "The true idea of God," says F. Tilmann Pesch, "is clean vanished from the domain of modern science." And he quotes the memorable words of Schopenhauer, which I the more gladly set down here because they are an admirable combination of sense and insight, and show many things in their true perspective:—

It was Kant [says Schopenhauer] that made bold to demonstrate that the hitherto approved dogmas, the existence of God and of a

spiritual individual soul, were indemonstrable. From him speculative theology and the rational psychology bound up with it received a mortal stroke. Since then they have disappeared from German philosophy; nor should we be misled by the circumstance that here and there the word has been kept after the thing was given up.

In another work he adds:—

The admission of a cause distinct from the universe, is by no manner of means Theism, if it stands alone; for Theism demands not simply a cause distinct from the universe, but an intelligent, a knowing and willing, and thus a personal, nay, an individual cause; this alone it is that the word God denotes.

It cannot be pretended that there is here room for misunderstanding; and to such as are doubtful of Theism so defined Religion may truly say, "He that is not with me is against me."

But there is no need to be scrupulous. Modern science by the mouth of many of its eloquent defenders has declared very plainly that it is, and means to be, the enemy of God. Listen to F. von Hellwald in his "History of Culture," and from him conclude to the feelings and purpose of a host of others, to whom the falsehood of Theism is a great first truth.

The history of religious ideas [he begins] is nothing else than the history of human error, generally. But error is inextricably bound up with the spirit of man. The process of thought in the brain does not change, be the thinking right or wrong. Now this necessary error is *the ideal*. Man has a native tendency to frame ideals. It would be blocking the way to every deeper insight into things, did we hesitate to consider the first stirrings of religion in man as the first emergence of the Ideal. But this is, on the one hand, to grant that all religions are products of the spirit of man, nay, that they are pre-scientific products of the imagination, for every religion is older than men's reflections upon it; and, on the other, to make an end of the opinion of such as dream that a fully enlightened and irreligious future is possible.*

But it must be understood, as he proceeds to tell us, that "science is superior to religion;" that "since the root of science is scepticism, it is clean contrary to the spirit of faith;" and, finally, that it is the task of science "to ruin all ideals, to show their hollowness and nothingness; to prove that faith in God and religion are a cheat; that morality, justice, love, freedom, and the rights of man are lies; but at the same time to maintain the necessity of all these errors." Such is the eirenicon held out

* Tilmann Pesch, vol. ii. p. 501.

to Christianity, and to Theism under whatever form, by the leaders of scientific thought in these times. But religion cannot take advantage of such terms of peace. Herr von Hellwald has overlooked one point in his theory which vitiates the whole. He lays it down that delusions are necessary; but he does not consider that the converse is equally true, and that it is necessary they should be delusions, if they are to produce any effect. Now when we know that the mask is not a face, we shall never be able to deceive ourselves into thinking it one. Religion discovered to be a cheat will deceive no longer; and who, I wonder, is likely to pray to a God whose existence he has just been denying, and whose very idea he has learnt to call a useful fiction? No, if belief in God were really incompatible with science, it would not survive the demonstration that it was so. And in proportion as men have taken this view of the case they have ceased to worship God, looking on their former state of mind as a delusion, and with scorn or pity turning away from the discredited ideals of the past. It is impossible to respect Theism when we have learned to speak of God as an "illogical conception, developing, as times goes on, into a mass of contradictions." If the conception of a living Creator be "illogical and anti-logical," there is an end of the matter. It is not exactly a justification of the Ideal to assure us that it is necessary nonsense. But to this have men come with their Phenomenism, Darwinism, and Monism, their denial of the reality of things, rejection of final causes, devout worship of imaginary atoms and an unproved vacuum, with their struggle for existence and fierce dislike to an overruling Providence that might bring order out of chaos, and make religion—personal, unselfish, and lowly-minded—a duty even for the high priests of knowledge. The new gospel for learned and unlearned, as Professor Benedikt solemnly declares, will transform society and revolutionize its morals and religion in the light of the supremacy of matter. And matter is that which neither knows nor wills, which is everlasting but unconscious, necessary but nowise rational, the mother of all things and their grave, but neither just nor unjust, neither good nor evil; deaf and blind, and not to be moved by any prayer, Anangke but not even Nemesis; a passionless Fury, destroying and devouring without malice; not righteousness, nor mercy, nor love; not moving onward to a divine event of glory and retribution, as Christians say, but turning in an endless circle and to be comprehended or explained by no intelligence. The new god of Darwinism is essential Unreason; the last word of Science (falsely so-called) is a denial of its own name and its assumed work.

But now from all this, one thing, as we may hope, is clear, and

will be made clearer as time goes on; the task, as I said, to which Christian philosophy must address itself. If Darwinism, in its obvious and intended form, is the very apotheosis of Unreason it will be overthrown by nothing else than Reason—I mean, so far as the intellect is concerned. For to convert the heart is another matter, and, as St. Augustine tells us, “*Cathedram in celo habet qui docet corda.*” I am speaking merely of the human means at a Christian’s disposal; and of these by far the most powerful and promising is a constant appeal to Reason against Unreason. We must write in such characters that even those that run may read, how it is not the Theist but the Antitheist that shrinks from an appeal to intellect; we must prove, for it can be proved, that atheistic Darwinism is the outcome of an utterly fallacious employment of the understanding, and is not reasonable, but in the highest degree unreasonable, and an obstinate shutting of the eyes to an all-pervading light. It is our duty to proclaim that we are not afraid of any argument, or any assemblage of facts; but that we insist on giving its weight to every part of the evidence. We can afford to be bold. Passing over other grounds of demonstration, we may rest our Theism on the very foundation of physical science, which is that the world is intelligible, is neither a chaos nor a Bedlam, but an objective order allowing, and indeed inviting, us to explore it endlessly, and with the promise that it will be ever more and more intelligible, not more and more chaotic. A metaphysician of high authority in Rome, F. Palmieri, has remarked with as much truth as point in his “*Institutes of Philosophy*,” that one of the greatest calamities of the last three centuries has been the neglect of the study of physical science by orthodox Christians. We are now in no small measure reaping the reward of our disdain, if I may so term it, of “the things that are made,” to which St. Paul directed his gaze and that of his disciples when he would demonstrate the invisible things of God. Science is widely quoted as though it were in opposition to Christianity; nor are Christians themselves always at their ease when handling this theme. They would have more confidence were piety like Kepler’s associated with these studies in the popular imagination, rather than the careless or contemptuous atheism of a Laplace boasting that he had swept the heavens with his telescope and found no God. Had Darwin been of a Christian temper, and not, as Carlyle said, “the third of a generation of atheists,” that famous “*Origin of Species*” might have been a demonstration on the grandest scale of creative wisdom. It is not, I say, what scientific men know that hurts us; it is what they do not know. They are lamentably instructed in the doctrines they attack, and in the reasoning by which Christians defend them.

Nature has given into their hands a burning torch, and they must needs put out the eye of the soul with it! Schopenhauer dwelt with malicious pleasure on the ignorance of scientific men outside their own province; during the last twenty-five years he might have reaped a rich harvest of examples in the field of Darwinism. What imbecilities of "anthropomorphism" have not been charged upon Christians, made acquainted now for the first time by Mr. Herbert Spencer or Professor Hückel with the monsters of opinion they had been nourishing in their bosoms? Great is the power of ignorance! But there had been less confusion and more light had the combination of believer and experimentalist not grown unhappily rare. If the Gospel is to be preached again to our civilized heathens, it will be well to take the Christian study of science as its forerunner, proclaiming by all the facts of Matter and Life and Mind, that "the kingdom of Heaven is at hand." St. Thomas Aquinas lays great stress on the preliminaries of the faith, which consist in an appeal to Reason, and to arguments the value of which Reason is fully competent to judge. I do not say a hasty thing when I affirm that to-day the weightiest *præambula fidei* are the truths of science expounded by Christian professors. Our apologists have never wished to leave the spirit of the age out of their consideration, though one may be permitted to doubt whether they have always understood what that spirit was. And now the old controversies are dead beyond the hope of resurrection, and heresy has nothing to say for itself. We may realize how great is the change if we take up works that in other times were a triumphant vindication of religion against its chief enemies; for example, Bellarmine, or Bossuet's "Variations;" or the "End of Controversy." In themselves these are solid as ever; they have not been refuted, for refutation, from the nature of the case, was impossible. Yet they speak to the world at large in an obsolete dialect, and of things with which it will not concern itself. If an unbeliever turns to Christianity, he, as a matter of course, betakes himself to the Catholic Church. Nor does he sit down with Bellarmine to prove the articles of the creed of Pius IV., or with Bossuet to show from history that Protestants have never known what exactly to believe. All these things are plain to him as soon as he can grant that a God there is who guides mankind to their destiny. On the other hand, when Christians fall away it is not into the Deism of a hundred years ago; Deism will not satisfy them, and they pass onward into the darkness of Du Bois-Reymond's *Ignorabimus*, or the lower *Bolge* where Hückel cries aloud that there is no God but matter, and Von Hartmann laughs him to scorn saying there is no God but evil. What would the venerable apologists whose

names are dear to us have done in such company? I think they would have quietly laid aside their ancient writings and striven to make out what grounds were left in common to them and their antagonists. The common ground is Science, and whoso appeals to that may be sure of his footing.

But when the superstition that opposes Science to Religion has been put to flight by the spectacle of a multitude of good Christians engaged in science, and when our apologists invite a scientific audience around them, it will still be requisite to choose a method of exposition and to direct the arguments upon those points which command the rest. Now herein F. Tilmann Pesch gives us excellent schooling. Vast as the territory may be over which he travels, it is all mapped out, and he never loses his way. From all points of the compass he returns again and again to the centre; and that centre is the doctrine of final causes, of intelligence in Nature as demonstrated by facts. This may be called the fundamental dogma in theology with which science is in contact. It covers, as we have seen, the whole of Darwinism: it suggests the answer to whatever imperils religion in that network of theories. Until the doctrine of final causes has been made out from the premisses supplied by scientific observation, nothing is won that may not be lost again. For as we should learn from Schopenhauer, it is no gain to prove efficient causality against Hume if we do not prove final causality against Darwin. A cause of things devoid of intellect is not God but some monster of the Materialists, or at best the "Unconscious" whom Von Hartmann has made his god. Nor again will it serve to overthrow Phenomenism, if the realities established by us do not proclaim that the *Real* from which they come is Conscious Spirit. Nor though we should refute Monism with its confusion of all things in one, shall we have advanced our cause unless the Dualism we set up in its stead is that of creatures depending on a Creator they can know and love, and that can love them. Let the mind, however, have once been persuaded that the root and ground of things is indeed spiritual; that it is intellect alone which can account for the universe, and that intellect *can* account for it, then the great difficulty will have been laid low and the decisive step taken. All the grace and comfort of the most beautiful Christian teaching lies hid in the demonstration that reason and not blind necessity is at the heart of the world. Nor can any doctrine be more inspiriting, more buoyant than this. It implies doubtless, that Nature is a parable; what it for ever makes an end of is the fancy that Nature is a riddle which cannot be read.

Christian philosophy, then, should set out with the admission that Science is no delusion, but is valid and true; and in undertaking to solve the problems of Being and Becoming it should

ignore no element and suppress none. But such, as I need hardly say, is the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, which needs only to be drawn from his various works and exhibited in modern speech, to meet the most pressing difficulties of the day.

Nor can I forbear adding, in conclusion, that a striking confirmation of the truth of St. Thomas's principles may be found in the union they present of depth and solidity, as always rising from fact into the region of the Ideal. Like the art of Greece, Catholic philosophy is sublime, clear, simple, and majestic ; it is progressive and fruitful, precise in distinctions, sane and poetic. Contrast modern philosophy with this. Who that knows it will deny that, in spite of its protesting that law is its light, modern thought is the opposite both of law and light, and dwells on what I may term the insane aspects of existence, dwells on pain and evil and death, not to show the good in them, but to confound health and life and holiness ? I do not speak without book. Consider Kant's Phenomenism, Hegel's Idealism, Schopenhauer's Pessimism. Consider, again, the disorder, mental and moral, incident to Mr. Spencer's subordination of mind to matter and of character to the environment ; or to Mr. Huxley's demonstration that man is no more than a brute ; or Mr. Tyndall's dissipation of immortality into the infinite azure. And when all this has been pondered, say how long society could last were these the principles it believed in.

WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.

ART. III.—CHRISTIANITY IN LANCASHIRE IN ROMAN AND CELTIC TIMES.

1. *Watkins' Roman Lancashire.* Liverpool. 1883.
2. *The Making of England.* By J. R. GREEN, M.A., LL.D. London : Macmillan & Co. 1881.
3. *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern.* Edited by A. P. FORBES, Bishop of Brechin.

THE early history of what now forms the important county of Lancaster, is involved in great obscurity. The most ancient remains of man to be found in the district are the Calder Stones, near Wavertree, Liverpool. They consist of five upright unhewn stones, the remains of a circle, carved with cup and ring sculpturing, of a type prevalent throughout Britain at a period long anterior to the invasion of the Romans. Sir James Y. Simpson ascribes these remains to the early Stone period before the introduction of metallic tools ; and he maintains that they point to a race different

from, and probably anterior to, the appearance of the Celtic race in these islands. The word "Galdar," in Anglo-Saxon means "Wizard," a term not unlikely to have been applied by our rude Saxon forefathers to these mysterious stones, of whose import they were ignorant.* A wide interval separates these early sculptures from historical times, when the ambition and valour of the Romans made Britain known to the rest of the world. But nearly a thousand years after the Roman conquest, the materials for composing the history of this county are few and scanty; and this is true alike of both the secular and ecclesiastical order.

The district now divided into the counties of York, Lancaster, Westmoreland, Cumberland and Durham, was, at the time when we first become acquainted with it, inhabited by a tribe called the Brigantes, a fierce and warlike tribe, one of the most numerous in Britain. The onward progress of the Roman army brought it into contact with this powerful tribe, in the year 50, under the governor Ostorius; but it is not till the year 78 that we find a direct allusion to Lancashire proper, then inhabited by a subdivision of the tribe named "Setantii," from words signifying "dwellers by the waters," a name curiously expressive of the moist character of the county. In that year, the famous general and statesman Agricola, after a successful campaign in Anglesea, marched northwards towards the borders of Scotland. Tacitus, his son-in-law and biographer, clearly indicates the country through which his route lay, by his description of it as marked by woods and estuaries. His conquest of the district was complete, for he allowed the enemy no rest, following up without delay every success. He placed garrisons and fortresses in suitable positions, choosing with such judgment, that he effectually secured the maintenance of tranquillity. He then tried the effects of good usage and the allurements of peace, and thus established the Roman authority on a firm basis.

Where the earliest Roman forts were fixed in Lancashire it is difficult to determine, but the best writers place amongst them Mancunium (Manchester), Bremetonacæ or Bremetonacum (Ribchester), and Galacum (Overborough). These were connected by roads, many of which can be traced to this day. Thus Mancunium was, on the south, linked with Deva (Chester), a great military station for centuries. One road led northwards to Bremetonacæ, on through Galacum to Carlisle; another through Coccium (Wigan) to Walton-le-Dale, and on to Lancaster; while a third route proceeded westwards from Bremetonacæ into the Fylde to Kirkham; and a fourth from Bremetonacæ through

* Sir J. Picton's "Liverpool," vol. i. p. 3.

Goosnargh and Claughton to Galgate and Lancaster. The winter of 78 was spent by Agricola in civilizing the conquered tribes, instructing them in the art of building houses, temples, and places of public resort. The sons of chiefs were taught the liberal sciences, and learnt the Roman language.

We hear little more of Lancashire, properly so called, during the remainder of the Roman occupation. In his list of the towns of the Brigantes, Ptolemy, the Alexandrian geographer, who wrote about the year 140, mentions only two which we can claim as being situated in Lancashire—viz., Rigodunum and Calatum. Of these Rigodunum has not been identified, but seems to have been on the Ribble, and Calatum is probably the same as Galacum or Overborough in North Lancashire. However, this distinguished geographer gives more space to the estuaries on the western coast, and names that of Morecambe, the Haven of the Setantii, and the estuaries of Belisama and Seteia. Mr. Watkin in his "Roman Lancashire" considers these to be, respectively, Morecambe Bay, the Ribble, the Mersey, and the Dee.

While York became an important city, a great military centre, the seat of government, and often the residence of the emperor, no town in Lancashire attained any greater importance than that of a second-rate military post. Chester owed the distinction of being a legionary station, to its advantageous strategical situation near the restless tribes of the unconquered British; while Carlisle in the far north became important as the westernmost station which guarded the Roman wall of Hadrian, between the Tyne and the Solway.

To these scanty notices of localities in Lancashire given by Ptolemy, we may add somewhat more detailed information from the Antonine Itinerary. This is a sort of working road-book, containing a list of the chief military roads of the Roman Empire, with the names of the stations upon them, and an approximate measurement of the distances between each station. It appears to have been drawn up in the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, about A.D. 140. Two of the Itera make mention of places in Lancashire, the tenth and the second. The tenth Iter gives the route from Glanoventa or Whiteley Castle, in Cumberland, through Lancashire and Cheshire to Chesterton in Staffordshire, a distance of about 156 miles. Mancunium is the only town named in the Iter whose site is known with certainty, and the clue to the other places has to be obtained from it. From Mancunium to Coccium, the distance given is seventeen miles, almost the exact distance between Manchester and Wigan. The next place is Bremetonacæ or Ribchester, about twenty miles, by the Roman road through Walton-le-Dale; followed by Calacum or Overborough, twenty-seven miles, and Alone or Borrowbridge,

in Lonsdale, seventeen miles. These are the only Lancashire localities mentioned, and we need not follow the road further to the north or the south.

The second Iter gives a station named Mamutium, between York and Chester, and places it at eighteen miles from Condate (or Kinderton in Cheshire), in this agreeing with the tenth Iter; so that it is evidently the same as the Mancunium already mentioned.

With these slender notices from contemporary documents of Lancashire during the first four centuries of the Christian era, we are forced to be content; and it is not until the fourth decade of the fifth century, about 432, after the death of Honorius the Emperor, that another official compilation, the "Notitia Imperii," affords us a passing glimpse of Lancashire.

This work gives us a list of the Roman Provinces, with the titles of the Governors, and of the chief civil and military dignitaries, a list of the forces under each, and the names of the places where they were in garrison. Among other items regarding the North of England, it names a troop of Sarmatian horse at Bremetonacæ. No other place in Lancashire is mentioned. In this list even that of Manchester does not occur, nor do we meet with it again until the Chronography of Ravenna, compiled probably in the sixth or seventh century, where it may appear under the form of Mantio.*

It is scarcely possible to conceive a more meagre account from Roman authors, of a county which now fills so important a place in nineteenth-century history. For four hundred years the Romans occupied Britain, and during that long period of time history records no event as occurring in Lancashire, mentions no place memorable for renowned deed, no person whose name is worthy of being held in remembrance. True Tacitus, the most distinguished historian of his time, relates its conquest by the renowned Agricola, but he describes no feat of arms, no brilliant achievements on the part of either conqueror or conquered. His narrative only suggests the irresistible might of Roman arms, and the sullen but complete submission of the inhabitants. The discoveries of antiquarians do indeed add something to our knowledge, and from the tracks of roads constructed with all the solidity of Roman workmanship, from the ruins of forts or temples, or baths; from coins of numerous Emperors, and the altars dedicated to deities held in honour by the Romans, we can gather something more of the condition of Lancashire in Roman times. Further notices are confined to the plodding industry of a geographer, or to the mechanical precision of an official, drawing

* Watkins, p. 124.

up a statement of the direction of a road, or the locality of a battalion of foot or a troop of horse.

It will be noticed that in the list of places named above that of Liverpool does not occur. In Roman times it was nothing more than a marsh on the banks of the Mersey. Preston did not come into existence till many centuries later, and the same may be said of many large and flourishing towns of the present time. The fortunes of the places known to the Romans have been widely different. Maneunium has developed into the city of Manchester, while Bremetonacum, which was the most important of all the military stations in Lancashire, has dwindled into the poor straggling village of Ribchester. As for Galacum, it has completely disappeared, and a gentleman's mansion and out-buildings now cover the spot where Roman sentries paced and Roman soldiers kept guard.

The religion of Lancashire was that of the rest of Britain. When the Romans first landed in the island, they found a priestly caste of Druids, in the enjoyment of great credit and influence. The Isle of Mona, or Anglesea, was one of their strongholds, and their stirring appeals to their countrymen to resist the advances of the Romans so irritated that haughty people that Suetonius, and later on Agricola, pursued them thither and put great numbers of them to the sword. The near neighbourhood of Lancashire to Anglesea prepares us to expect that the worship of the Druids would be found also in it, and accordingly we find many places which by their names tell of this ancient superstition. The Druids worshipped in groves, and held in especial honour the oak and the mistletoe; and as great portions of Lancashire at this period were covered with forests of oak, in these the Druids found suitable spots for their religious observances. Goosnargh and Grimsargh, Kellamergh and Angle-sark, still retain in their final syllable the sign of their having been so used, as "argh" in a Scandinavian dialect means a sacred grove or temple. The Romans of course introduced into their newly conquered possession the religion of ancient Rome, so that Jupiter, Mars and Apollo, Minerva and Isis, had their altars and temples. Numerous altars to Fortune, to the manes of the dead, and sometimes to local deities, have been found at Manchester, Ribchester, or Lancaster. An altar found at Lancaster to the most holy god, Jalonus, is supposed to indicate the worship paid to the deity presiding over the Lune; one to Mars Cocidius, also found at Lancaster, and now preserved in the Assize Court in the castle; and another from Ribchester to Apollo Maponus, are likewise supposed to be in honour of British deities. Stonyhurst still possesses an altar from Ribchester dedicated to the Mother Goddesses, and a statue of Jupiter found at Manchester, and a

signet-ring bearing an intaglio of Mercury in a blood-stone, from Ribchester, are evidences of the homage paid to these false deities. During these centuries of Roman domination there are no evidences of the Christian religion having prevailed in Lancashire, and yet there can be no doubt that it was preached here as well as in other parts of Britain. Before the end of the second century the conversion of a British prince, Lucius, facilitated the spread of the Gospel in this country ; episcopal Sees were founded in the most important cities, as London and York, and naturally the latter would have jurisdiction in Lancashire. Eborius of York is mentioned as sitting at the Council of Arles in 314, as one of a deputation of British bishops. Constantine was born at York, but his conversion to Christianity would have little influence on religion in Lancashire, for it did not take place for some years after he left Britain—viz., in the year 311 ; and the same may be said of the holy Empress Helen, his mother, who became a Christian at the same time. The campaigns of the Emperor Theodosius, half a century later, would do little more than free the country from the devastations of the Piets and Scots, whom he drove back for a time beyond the Forth and the Clyde. During the fourth century the ravages of these northern tribes were frequent throughout the north of England. Fire and sword spread havoc amongst the towns and country alike, and the temples and law courts of the Romans became heaps of charred ruins. At Ribchester, in 1813, Dr. Whitaker found a stratum of charcoal close by the ruins of a temple, immediately under the vegetable mould, evidently the remains of a timber roof which had been burned.*

There is abundant evidence that Lancashire had attained a considerable degree of civilization, and even refinement, during the Roman period. The settled rule of the Romans, their taste for splendour and personal adornment, produced their natural results wherever they occupied the land ; and to this day the researches of antiquarians in this county are often crowned by the discovery of articles of dress, of baths and porticoes, and other indications of a highly polished society. But so far, not a solitary monument of Christian art has been discovered in Lancashire ; though of course it is possible that a Christian tomb or inscription may almost at any time reward the patient toil of the explorer. To this period succeeds a long interval of complete darkness. But though the civilization of Rome entirely disappeared, Christianity must have still prevailed to a certain extent ; and when the clouds again break, and we light on a passing mention of Lancashire, we find a

* Watkins' "Roman Lancashire," p. 147.

Christian bishop speaking to a Christian people. However feeble the light, it seems never to have been completely extinguished. We read of Lancashire during the fifth and sixth centuries only incidentally, as the ground traversed on the way from Wales to the south of Scotland; but what was true of these districts must also be true to a certain extent of the intervening tract which was subject to the same temporal and spiritual rulers. The division of the country into counties was of after-growth, and even the distinction between England and Scotland, as it now exists, was not to arise for many centuries. St. Ninian, who was born on the south bank of the Solway Firth, about 360, and who flourished as Bishop of Whitherne in the fifth century, was as much at home on the north as on the south side of the border. In his youth there were both churches and schools, frequented by Christians, in what is now the county of Cumberland, and we cannot greatly err in assuming that it would be much the same on the banks of the Mersey or Ribble. However, be that as it may, the rule of the Romans was succeeded by a complete break-up of any central authority. Power fell naturally into the hands of local chiefs, and was exercised by them in their immediate neighbourhoods, until the courage or good fortune of an individual enabled him to reduce the other chiefs to subjection. The rest of our island, from Land's End to the Clyde, remained British or Celtic long after the eastern coasts and the midland districts had yielded to the Saxons, and, as a consequence of this, Christianity continued to be the religion of the land. Indeed, as I hope to show in a future number, the Saxons of Northumbria had themselves become Christians before they established their sway over Lancashire.

The history of St. Patrick's youth supplies us with a striking instance of the lawlessness and of the utter insecurity of property and personal liberty which followed on the break-up of the Roman power in North-western Britain. The wall of Antonine, between the Firths of the Forth and the Clyde, marked out the limits within which the Romans, in the heyday of their power, confined themselves. They might pursue the retreating enemy further towards the north, but they were content to hold as a subject territory the district south of this line. Like other Roman works, it was solid and substantial. This great work, as it presents itself to the inspection of those who have examined it minutely, consists of a huge rampart of intermingled stone and earth, strengthened by sods of turf, and must originally have measured twenty feet in height and twenty-four feet in breadth at the base. It was surmounted by a parapet, having a level platform behind it, for the protection of its defenders. In front there extended along the whole course an immense fosse, averaging about forty

feet wide and twenty feet deep. To the southward of the whole was a military way, presenting the usual appearance of a Roman causewayed road.* Beginning from Chapel Hill, near West Kilpatrick, on the Clyde, it runs a distance of twenty-seven miles to Bridgeness, near Carriden, on the Firth of Forth, having at intervals of two miles small square forts, or stations, which, judging from those that remain, amounted in all to nineteen in number, and between them were smaller watch-towers.† Four forts, which may still be easily traced, linked the extremity of the wall with the great fortress of Aldclyde, of which Kilpatrick was an outpost. At Kilpatrick, a church in honour of the saint now stands on the site of a very ancient church, which itself had supplanted one still more ancient; and a holy well, once dedicated to St. Patrick, situated a little to the south of the graveyard, still pours forth its cooling waters. Aldclyde itself, or the "Rock of the Clyde," is a precipitous rock of basalt, which rises sheer up from the circumjacent low, flat, marshy tract to a height of about 300 feet. It is on the north bank, and stands completely isolated from any other elevated ground. Towards the summit it forms a double peak, and is cleft by a narrow but deep chasm. The plain was known to the Britons as "Magh-Tabern," to the Romans as "Campus Tabernaculorum," from the number of huts erected by the Roman armies encamped there. In 369 the Emperor Theodosius sent his troops to the banks of the Clyde, so that, by occupying the forts, the northern marauders might be kept in check. Again, in the year 396, when the Britons applied to the Roman commander Stilicho for aid, a legion was sent to Britain, which for a time drove back the invading tribes, and garrisoned the wall between the Forth and the Clyde.†

The father of St. Patrick occupied a distinguished position in the government of the municipality, holding the post of Decurio, or Provincial Senator. He was a Christian and he had been ordained Deacon. His wife, Conches or Concessa, was a sister or niece of the great St. Martin of Tours. Up to the age of fifteen the boy dwelt in peace under his father's roof near the village of Bannaven Tabernia, now Kilpatrick, and we may presume would enjoy the advantages of a classical and religious education at the neighbouring town of Aldclyde. But about the year 388 the storm, which had been long threatening, burst on the little villa on the banks of the Clyde, and St. Patrick with a great multitude of hapless companions was carried off by the savage pirates, and he himself was sold as a slave to a landed proprietor in Antrim, on the north-east coast of Ireland. The

* Skene, "Celtic Scotland," vol. i. p. 77.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 105.

saint's after career does not here concern us, but the incident of his captivity is characteristic of the times, and gives us a lively idea of the horrors which befell the unfortunate Roman Provincials, as the power of the Central Government declined, and the northern hordes became emboldened by impunity. I have another reason for dwelling in some detail on the youth of St. Patrick, for he is one, and the greatest, of the three saints whose virtues and supernatural gifts shed a lustre on the obscure little kingdom of Strathclyde.

St. Patrick, St. Ninian, and St. Kentigern all belong to the same Celtic race which in the sixth century was gathered together into one kingdom under the firm hand of Rydderch Hael, ruling from the impregnable rock of Aldclyde, or Dumbarton. Perhaps it was this feeling of identical nationality which prompted our Lancashire forefathers to dedicate to St. Patrick the very ancient church of Heysham, which will be mentioned later on in this article.

York seems to have fallen before the Saxon invaders about the year 500, and so, if not earlier, it would cease then to be the seat of a bishopric. It became a mere heap of ruins, but marks of its greatness survived in the lofty walls and towers which awed Aleuin two centuries later. $\text{\textit{Æ}}\text{lla}$ in 559 became King of Deira or Yorkshire, while Ida, a little further to the north, placed the seat of his government at Bamborough, and extended his sway to the Forth. Meanwhile, on the western coast, the raids of the Picts were equally disastrous in Cumberland and Lancashire, and the charred ruins found at Maryport and Ribchester are witnesses of the fruitless struggle maintained by the ancient Provincials. But there was this important difference between the incursions of the Saxons and the Picts: the Picts, after ravaging and destroying, returned with their booty to their native hills, while the Saxons settled on the lands which their valour had won. Thus it happened that the Britons retained on the western coasts their national and political existence for many centuries to come. The impenetrable fastnesses of Elmet enabled the Britons to keep their invader at bay for more than a century. This district which, roughly speaking, corresponds with the West Riding of Yorkshire, was bounded on the west by the range of hills separating Lancashire from Yorkshire, and served as a screen to protect our county from the advances of the Saxons, and it was not until nearly 250 years had elapsed from the landing of the Saxons in Kent in 438, that the Britons of the Lake District were finally conquered.

In considering then the state of Lancashire during the sixth century, we must bear in mind that we have to deal with an exclusively Celtic population, and that Christianity always main-

tained some hold upon it. The country would be in an extremely rude state, and the population very sparse : the towns surviving from Roman times would become little more than desolate mounds of ruins, or at best straggling villages. Perhaps not more than 2,000 or 3,000 people would occupy what now counts nearly as many millions of inhabitants. The forests covered large portions of the country ; even as late as the Domesday survey there were 250,000 acres of dense woods in the region between the Mersey and Ribble alone. North of the Ribble, moor, forest, and fen would share between them the greater part of the surface. Of course the annals of such a district are a mere blank, not the name even of a town or person occurs for centuries. There was no orderly succession of rulers, but sometimes a chieftain from Wales proper, at another from the banks of the Clyde, exercised an uncertain and ever-varying authority. No chief of native birth is ever mentioned ; no ecclesiastic has left any record of his labours, until, in the middle of the sixth century, we come upon the preaching and labours of St. Kentigern. It may be here convenient to call attention to the fact that Lancashire, even to this day, retains more than most English counties the signs of its long subjection to Celtic influences. The names of its rivers and mountains are mostly Celtic, though perhaps in this it does not differ materially from other districts ; but more than this, many words used in common life, and familiar to that portion of the population using the provincial dialects, offer convincing proofs of the same close connection with the ancient Celtic inhabitants. Among the rivers we find the Lune, formerly Alauna, the "white water ;" the Ribble is the "fast river," the Douglas the "black water," the Calder a "crooked water," and the Brock is thoroughly Celtic in form and meaning. Windermere is simply "beautiful water," and Derwent is "clear water," though, when it appears under the form of Darwen, a dweller on its banks, as it empties itself into the Ribble, may well doubt the fitness of the application. Morecambe is the winding or twisting sea. The same may be said of the Hills. Pendle Hill is a curious instance. It is well known that Pen is Celtic or Welsh for Hill. The Saxon invaders would ask the native inhabitants what was the name of the adjoining hill, and be told that it was Pen, or the Hill, and adopt this as its proper name. By degrees they added their own suffix "hill," and thus arose Penhill or Pendle, and in course of time a second "hill," so that Pendle Hill is really equivalent to Hill-Hill-Hill. The names of villages and towns are of a later date, and it has been said that Wigan is the only town in Lancashire whose name is Celtic, being derived from a word signifying a battle or beating. The word wigging still signifies in our local dialect a "thrashing." Claughton-on-Brock is a good specimen

of an old Celtic appellation, modified in the course of time by the later inhabitants. The oldest form of it was Clachan, a hamlet, and in this form it would be given by the natives to the Saxon stranger as the name of the place. Indeed, it still survives in the title of a now disused road called Clekken Lane. To this the newcomers would add their favourite "ton," so that it would become Clachanton; as usual it would be abbreviated in the course of time, and the second syllable, as in the case of Oxenford (Oxford), be omitted; it would then be pronounced Clachtion, and it is as Clactune that it actually appears in *Domesday Book*, where we first meet with it.

Among other relics of Celtic words still in use among the common people are the words "boggart" and "gradely," while "spree" and "prank" are survivals from Celtic not peculiar to Lancashire. Mr. Thornber (in his "History of Blackpool," p. 17) says, "that he had frequently been told by those who were reputed judges, that the Fylde country manners, customs, and dialect partook far more of the Welsh than of the Saxon, and that this was more perceptible half a century ago than at present." And Palgrave, in his "History of the Anglo-Saxons," says: "From the Ribble, in Lancashire or thereabouts, up to the Clyde, there existed a dense population composed of Britons, who preserved their national language and customs, agreeing in all respects with the Welsh of the present day; so that, even to the tenth century, the ancient Britons still inhabited the greater part of the western coast of the island, however much they had been compelled to yield to the political superiority of the Saxon invaders."

The tradition of the Celtic character of the Lancashire people in the sixth century is further confirmed by the occurrence of the prefix "kil" in such words as "Kilgrimol" and "Killingsough." Kilgrimol is situated near Lytham, and before the Norman Conquest there was built there a church of shingles, replaced afterwards by one of stone. Probably before the advent of the Saxons, this was the site of an ancient British sanctuary, and Grimol may have been the name of some renowned anchorite. Similarly, Killingsough, the name of a farm in Fulwood near Preston, may record the name of another sanctuary of the Britons. But a far more important relic of those old British times in Lancashire is to be found in the venerable ruins of Heysham, near Lancaster. Here on a rock abruptly jutting up from the sea, and commanding an extensive view of all the windings and intricacies of Morecambe Bay, is a rude chapel of simple and massive construction. The mortar is chiefly composed of burnt shells, and has become harder than the rock itself. The building is devoid of all decoration or architectural effect, is rude and very small, being only 24 ft. long by $7\frac{1}{2}$ wide. A single window gives light to the

altar, and the doorway is so narrow that a bulky man would find a difficulty in passing through. Apparently it dates from a very remote period, and probably belongs to the time I am now writing about—the sixth century. The reasons for this conjecture are that, in this century, Lancashire was occupied by a Celtic race, closely akin to the Irish; that frequent intercourse was maintained between Ireland and the south of Scotland and Wales; and that it is highly probable that this little chapel, dedicated to the patron saint of Ireland, was erected on the bold promontory of Heysham to serve as a beacon to the ships navigating this treacherous sea. After the coming of the Saxons, it is not likely that an Irish saint would have been chosen as the patron of a Lancashire chapel. It is remarkable that Bede,* writing in the eighth century, though he speaks at length about Ireland, makes no mention of St. Patrick, and we may well imagine that his ignorance of the saint would be shared by his Saxon fellow-countrymen, while, on the other hand, there is no improbability in the earlier occupiers of the coast being well acquainted both with Ireland and its patron saint. It is thus not at all unlikely that this venerable remnant of Christian architecture may go back to a period before St. Augustine landed in Britain in the last decade of the sixth century.

It is time now to say something of the political and ecclesiastical condition of Lancashire at this period. Certainly the materials are extremely scanty for filling up a sketch, however meagre. Bede scarcely helps us at all; for whilst his notices of the events happening in the east and south of England supply us with a sufficiently precise idea of Anglo-Saxon history, he seems to have known little or nothing of what is now called Lancashire. We must go, therefore, further afield in search of information; and from incidental passages in the books left us by Welsh writers, we can at least glean some particulars of what was going on in Lancashire.

A prince named Maelgwyn at this time reigned in North Wales, and his authority extended northwards over the Celtic races as far as the Clyde; indeed, Bishop Forbes does not hesitate to call him "the Prince of all Cymraeg;" and he appears to have exercised more authority than was usually enjoyed by the princes of his race and language. We have a very unflattering character of him from a writer of his own nation—the famous Gildas. This writer, who gives us the year of his own birth as that of the great battle of Badon Hill, fought between the British and Saxons in 516, is the earliest British writer of whom we have certain knowledge; and from his pages we can gather

* Bede does not mention St. Patrick in his "History," but in his "Martyrology," marks March 17th, as the anniversary of his death.

some notion of the literary attainments of a scholar of the time. His language is vigorous and outspoken ; and he displays the familiar acquaintance with Scriptural language and allusions so usual with writers of the Middle Ages. He inveighs bitterly against the vices and corruptions of his fellow-countrymen ; both princes and ecclesiastics smart under his lash. On Maelgwyn, whom he calls Maglocune, he is especially severe, addressing him in these strong terms : " Oh, thou dragon of ye island ! who hast deprived many kings of their dominions and of their lives, though thou occupiest the last place in my writings, thou art first in mischief. Thou exceedest many in power as also in malice. Thou art more liberal in gifts than others, and also more licentious in sin. Thou art strong in arms, but still stronger in accomplishing the destruction of thine own soul. Maglocune, why art thou (as though inflamed with wine of the grapes of Sodom) revelling in the black pool of thine offences ? Why dost thou wilfully heap a mountain of sins upon thy royal shoulders ? Why dost thou show thyself to the King of kings, who hast bestowed upon thee both power and physical strength beyond almost every other king in Britain, not equally superior in virtue than the others, but rather the contrary, for thy sins are much worse."

Then the holy monk proceeds to enumerate such as were public and known of the evil deeds of this prince. " Didst thou not, even in thine early youth, oppress the king, thine uncle, and his soldiers, with sword, spear, and fire, having no regard to the words of the prophet, which say, ' the blood-thirsty and deceitful man shall not live out half his days. . . . Woe be to thee who spoilest, and shall not thou thyself be spoiled ? ' "

Gildas then goes on to describe how Maelgwyn, being torn by remorse, entered the cloister, meditated on the ritual of the Lord and on the rules of the monks, and finally took the vows of religion, with a firm intention of observing them faithfully, giving joy to the Church, and benefiting his own soul. Maelgwyn did not persevere in the religious life ; but, giving ear to the devil, the father of all castaways, he threw off the habit of the cloister. His conversion had given joy to heaven and earth, and his return to evil ways was the cause of grief and lamentation. Gildas then contrasts the two phases of the life of this prince. Instead of listening to the praises of God, sweetly chanted by the soldiers of the Lord, or sounded forth by instruments of ecclesiastical melody, he now hearkens with pleasure to his own praise issuing from the mouths of the drunken votaries of Bacchus. If, whilst residing in the cloister, this unfortunate prince put a check on his passions, the moment he left it he cast all restraint aside, and perpetrated every imaginable crime. Violating his religious vow of continence, he seduced the wife of

his own nephew, and finally murdered his own lawful wife and his nephew also, whose widow he afterwards married publicly, to the great scandal of every honest man in Wales.

In reference to this event Gildas writes :—

“ What holy person is there who would not weep and lament at hearing such a history ? What priest whose heart lieth open before God would not, whilst listening to it, exclaim with the prophet, ‘ Who shall give water to my head, and to my eyes a fountain of tears, that day and night I may bewail my people who are destroyed ? ’ ” *

From this description we may infer how wild and lawless were the times. It seemed as if the possession of power, freed from every external check, had rendered the petty princes of Britain utterly regardless of all law, human and divine, so that they seemed powerless to resist their evil passions. And yet their lawlessness did not extinguish their belief in the Christian religion, nor render them insensible to its spirit and holy maxims. This very Maelgwyn is an instance ; and the man, stained with crime as he was, was a generous benefactor to religion. He is stated to have founded the See of Bangor and the religious houses of Penmore and Caergybi. He built also a church at Llanrhos, which he dedicated to St. Hilary. His becoming a monk is a proof that he felt remorse for his sins, though his return to the world, and his falling into even greater excesses, tells us only too clearly of the instability of his repentance.

Such was the turbulent character of the king who in the middle of the sixth century was lord paramount over the British people, still holding the whole western coast of our island. Of a very different stamp was Rydderch Hael, the prince of Aldclyde, who owned him as his lord and who under him won the great battle of Ardderyd, near Carlisle, in the year 573. It is not easy to give any very intelligible account of this event or of the state of things of which it was the outcome. But this much may be stated without fear of error, that Gwendoleu, a powerful chief, had rebelled against Maelgwyn, that he espoused the cause of the ancient paganism of the country, and that Maelgwyn summoned to his aid his feudatories or allies, Rhydderch, already established at Aldclyde, and Aidan, whom St. Columba had consecrated King of Dalriada. The allied forces met the enemy at the caer (or camp) of Gwendoleu. The spot is still marked by the remains of an ancient earthwork, about nine miles from Carlisle, dominating the river Esk in close vicinity to Solway Moss, and within sight of the great “ Strength ” of Birrenwerk. The Welsh Triads, written in the twelfth century,

* See “ Cambria Sacra,” p. 576.

are of very doubtful historical authority, and yet in their wild and mythical description of this battle there may be some grains of truth. At all events, they are witnesses to the popular tradition that Gwendoleu with his sacred fires and birds which devoured men, fought for the maintenance of ancient superstition.

Rhydderch was of Irish extraction on his mother's side, and had been baptized and instructed in Ireland. The surname Hael denotes "liberal," and he was celebrated as one "of the three liberal princes of Britain." Joceline of Furness thus describes him :—

"Glory and riches were in his house, generosity in his heart, politeness in his mouth, munificence in his hand; for that the Lord had blessed the works of his hands, so that not only to the regions in his own neighbourhood, but even across the sea to Ireland, the fame of his liberality extended." *

By this victory, Rhydderch's ascendancy became firmly established, and though he continued to reside at Aldclyde, now Dumbarton, he seems to have succeeded to much of the power of Maelgwyn, of whom we hear little more, and his authority reached to the borders of Wales, and hence Lancashire became subject to his rule.

This brings us to a most interesting passage in our ecclesiastical history, the matter which more immediately concerns us, and St. Kentigern, surnamed Mungo or the Beloved, appears upon the scene. This surname was not given to him in vain, and I trust to inspire my readers with some of the same interest and devotion which his career has enkindled in my own breast. He was of the same British stock as the inhabitants of Wales and the rest of the western coast, but he was born at Culross on the northern shore of the Firth of Forth early in the sixth century, somewhere about 518. Here from his early infancy he was placed in a monastery, where he was carefully and piously brought up, and became so great a favourite as to receive the name of Mungo, by which he is still well known in Scotland. Even at this early time we find the old Celtic monasteries supplying the place of schools and orphanages in this otherwise wild period. While a complete disregard of the obligations both of religion and citizenship too often was the rule in the world, the peaceful inmates of the cloister practised obedience and humility, and cultivated diligently both letters and all the arts of peace. When grown up to manhood he retired to a cell hard by a cemetery, which had been consecrated by St. Ninian, Bishop of Whitherne, nearly 200 years before, on the site of the now great city of Glasgow. Disciples, attracted by his loving sweetness

* Cap. xxvii.

and his saintly behaviour, soon gathered about him. When he was only twenty-five years of age, the fame of his sanctity had spread so widely that prince and people agreed in choosing him for their bishop, and an Irish bishop was sent for to consecrate him. He fixed his See at Glasgow, and the community of monks who gathered about him was the first commencement of what is now one of the greatest cities in the Empire. His pious exercises, his unsparing mortification of himself, and his incessant labours for the salvation of souls, proved him to be the model of a Christian bishop. Joceline gives the following description of his personal appearance :—

“ Holy Kentigern in the form of his body is said to have been of middle stature, rather inclining unto tallness, and it is asserted that he was of robust strength, capable to a considerable extent of enduring great fatigue, in the labours both of body and soul. He was beautiful to look upon and graceful in form. Having a countenance full of grace and reverence, dove-like eyes, cheeks like the turtle-dove, he attracted the hearts of all who beheld him. His outward cheerfulness was the sign and most faithful interpreter of that inward peace which flooded all things, with a certain contentment of holy joy and exultation, which the Lord bestowed upon him.” *

And in cap. xiii. he thus speaks of his mode of dress :—

“ He used the roughest hair-cloth next the skin, then a garment of leather made of the skin of the goats, then a cowl like a fisherman’s bound on him, above which, clothed in a white alb, he always wore a stole over his shoulders. He bore a pastoral staff, not rounded and gilded and gemmed, as may be seen nowadays, but of simple wood and merely bent. He had in his hand the manual-book, always ready to exercise his ministry, whenever necessity or reason demanded. And so by the whiteness of his dress he expressed the purity of his inner life and avoided vain-glory.”

We cannot wonder that a lawless nobility should sooner or later take umbrage at his bold resistance to the abuses of power and his stern denunciation of vice, and so it happened that about 553 some members of the Royal family conceived so great a hatred of him as to seek his life. This led to his journey through Lancashire to Wales, on a visit to St. David, then Bishop of Menevia, but I cannot do better than allow Joceline, the monk of Furness and the biographer of the saint, to tell the story in his own words. Joceline lived in the twelfth century, and wrote the life of St. Kentigern at the request of another Joceline, at the time Archbishop of Glasgow. He is the first Lancashire writer that I know of, and though

* Cap. xviii.

he lived six centuries after the saint, yet he tells us that he used older documents, and his narrative is accepted by the learned as a most valuable contribution to our historical literature, and as giving on the whole a trustworthy account of the saint and his times. He especially throws light on a most obscure period and region, and it is from his work that we learn what we know of the kingdom afterwards known as Strath-Clyde or Cambria, as it was in the sixth century. Indeed, he is almost the only authority who makes more than an incidental allusion to the subject. I may add that he always calls the country south of the Forth and Clyde "Cambria," and gives the name of Wallia to what is now called Wales; but where the border was he nowhere states, and all the probabilities point to the Dee as the actual line of demarcation. Perhaps here I ought to state that the terms Strathclyde and Cambria were of after-growth, and that Bede uses no other word than Britons when he has to speak of the inhabitants of the western coasts. Gildas and Nennius are equally unacquainted with these terms. Adamnan in his life of St. Columba has no other title for Rhydderch Hael than the king who reigned in "Peta Cloithe" or Aldclyde, and the Irish annals dealing with the kings who reigned over the district in the eighth century style them simply kings of Alocluaith. It is not until the ninth century that we have in the Irish annals 872, Artgha rex Britannorum Strathacluaidhe, and in 875 the Saxon Chronicle speaks of Straecled Wealas, the Strathclyde Welsh. The name Cambria, to express the people who had been previously known as the Britons of Strathclyde or the Strathclyde Welsh, is of still later date, and first occurs in Ethelwerd, who wrote at the end of the tenth century, about 980; and, as I have already stated, Joceline uses the word Cambria only, and he speaks of passing from Wallia into Cambria. This is perhaps a long digression, but without some such explanation my readers would scarcely apprehend the position of the ruling powers, whether civil or ecclesiastical. The following is the narrative of Joceline:*

"When some time had passed, certain sons of Belial, a generation of vipers, of the kin of the aforenamed King Morken, excited by the sting of intense hatred and infected with the poison of the devil, took counsel together how they might lay hold of Kentigern by craft and put him to death; but fearing the people, they did not dare to do that evil deed openly, because all held him for a teacher, bishop and shepherd of their souls, and loved him as an angel of light and peace. In many ways they laid great wait for him, that they might suddenly shoot him with arrows; but the Lord became unto him a tower of strength, that his enemies, the

* P. 73, c. 23.

sons of wickedness, should not triumph over him. At last binding themselves together by a solemn oath, they determined among themselves that in no way would they fail in carrying out the resolve by which they had conspired to compass his death ; and that for the fear of no man would they pass over one unjust and treacherous word to which they had agreed against him. And when the man of God had learnt this, although he could meet force by force, he thought it better for the time to quit the place and to give place unto wrath, and to seek elsewhere a richer harvest of souls, rather than to bear about with him a conscience seared as with a hot iron, or even darkened by the death of any man, however wicked. For the blessed Paul, the chosen vessel, gave him the ensample of acting similarly, seeing that when at Damascus he saw death without fruit impending over him, he sought the basket and the rope to escape and to avoid it, and yet afterwards at Rome willingly submitted to it with great gain.

“ At last, instructed by Divine revelation, he journeyed from those regions towards Menevia, where at that time the holy Bishop Dewi, like the morning star, when it with its rosy countenance heraldeth the day, was shining forth in his episcopal work. Wheresoever the saint went, virtue went forth from him to heal many. And when he had come to Karleolum, he heard that many among the mountains were given to idolatry, or ignorant of the Divine law. Thither he turned aside, and God helping him and confirming the word by signs following, converted to the Christian religion, many from a strange belief, and others who were erroneous in the faith. O how beautiful on these mountains were the feet of him who brought glad tidings, that published peace, that brought good tidings of good, that published salvation, that said unto Zion, Thy God reigneth. He remained for some time in a certain thickly planted place to confirm and comfort in the faith the men that dwelt there, where he erected a cross as the sign of the faith ; whence it took the name in English, of Crosfeld, that is Crucis Novale. In which very locality a basilica, recently erected, is dedicated to the name of blessed Kentigern ; and to exhibit his sanctity, he is not doubted to have been distinguished by many miracles. Turning aside from thence, the saint directed his steps by the sea-shore, and through all his journey scattering the seed of the Divine Word, gathered in a plentiful and fertile harvest unto the Lord.”

St. Kentigern’s journey lay through a country inhabited by a race akin to that from which he himself sprung, and the language of the whole district would be the same essentially as that spoken by himself. His route is traced as far as Crossfell on the borders of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and thence he bends westwards, and pursues his journey along the sea-coast.

The mountainous district which lies between Crossfell and Lancashire in the direct line to the south, and which contains in its deep recesses the vales and lakes forming the great pleasure-ground of modern England, would be at this time all but impassable ; and besides, his journey was an Apostolic one, and he sought the spots where he could find souls to instruct and save. He must naturally have traversed the shores of Morecambe Bay, passing through Grange-over-sands on his way to Lancaster. Then the remains of the old Roman road would conduct him by Galgate and Claughton-on-Brock, to Walton-le-Dale and through Wigan, to the ford over the Mersey. Whether his preaching led to the establishment of priests on the banks of the Ribble, of which we shall read more later on, or he found them already flourishing there, and merely confirmed them by his teaching, Joceline does not say ; but large tracts of land in Lancashire had been already given by religious princes to the support of the Church.* There is no mention where he passed the limits of his own diocese, and that for a very good reason. At this period among the Celts the extent of both civil and ecclesiastical divisions were ill-defined, and depended much more on the power and influence of the individual than on any boundaries laid down by law. Of course the jurisdiction of the See of York over Lancashire would have ceased, for York itself as we have seen was a wilderness of ruins, and the Saxon invaders had left few if any traces of the religion of Christ in their newly formed kingdom of Deira. As this narrative tells us, St. David was Bishop of Menevia, and the See of Bangor was instituted about this time by Maelgwyn, but to whom Lancashire belonged is nowhere said. St. Kentigern himself, whilst in Wales, founded the See of St. Asaph, and it derived its name from his saintly disciple and successor in the Episcopate. It is most probable that the two dioceses of Glasgow and St. Asaph, the older and newer dioceses of St. Kentigern, were conterminous, and that the Dee or the Mersey was the boundary. For this we have the high authority of Haddan and Stubbs, who in their "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, relating to Great Britain and Ireland" state as follows :—" His (St. Kentigern's) diocese must have been co-extensive with Rydderch's kingdom—i.e., from the Clyde to the Mersey, and from the sea to the hills which form the watershed ; and was therefore on the south conterminous with the diocese of St. Asaph."† Be that as it may, it is certain, from the passages I have just quoted, that he preached and administered the sacraments on his way through our county ; and Lancashire may fairly claim him as the one saint who preached and laboured for souls within its

* Eddi, "Life of St. Wilfrid," cap. xvii.

† Part I. vol. ii. p. 4.

area. In various ways, in later times, Lancashire has been connected with Saxon and Norman saints, but I have never found any trace of their presence or personal labours within the county. It cannot be doubted that St. Kentigern found an abundant field for his holy apostleship. The old Paganism had still its adherents, and the worship of the Druids would still prevail in the forests of oak which abounded in Amounderness and other parts. Ackmunderness, as we first find the word in the next century, is merely the oak-covered promontory ; and Grimsargh and Goosnargh are still witnesses of the rites of this ancient religion and its sacred groves. That it was something more than a mere slumbering superstition, hidden in the recesses of the forests, is proved by the rebellion of Gwendoleu; and it required all the united resources of Maelgwyn of Wales, Rhydderch of Aldclyde, and Aidan of Dalraida (the three leading princes of the Celtic nation in Britain during this century), to crush the struggles of the old idolatry and ensure the triumph of the Christian faith. Gildas speaks of the prevalence of idolatry among his countrymen in these words :—" Nor shall I enumerate those diabolical idols of my country, which almost surpassed in number those of Egypt, and which we still see mouldering away within and without the deserted temples, with stiff and deformed features, as was customary."* Heresy, too, was not unknown among the people, and the Pelagian errors are especially alluded to ; but above all things to be overcome was the ignorance of Divine things which called for all the patience and endurance of a minister of the Gospel.

The steps of holy Kentigern, as he journeyed through the land, were marked everywhere by the earnest zeal of the preacher, and the wondering awe-struck attention of the listening crowds. We cannot doubt that the burning words of the saint had a great share in keeping alive the faith of Lancashire men, and when, a century later, we find the British priests still dominant on the banks of the Ribble, we may recognize the abiding effects of his labours. He seems to have had a singular gift in drawing to himself the hearts of men ; and Joceline gives the following account of his way of speaking : †—" In speaking he was able to control his spirit, and he learned to set a watch before his mouth and to keep the door of his lips, that he might guide his words with discretion. Nor did any one of his words fall lightly to the ground, nor was the word he spoke given to the winds, nor did it return to him in vain. Wherefore he spoke in weight, number, and measure, as the necessary occasion demanded, for his speech was flavoured with salt suitable to every age and sex,

* Historic, sec. 4.

† Cap. xv.

for honey and milk were under his tongue, and his cellars were filled with spiritual wine, whence the babe in Christ drank milk from his lips, the more advanced honey, and the perfect man wine, each to his soul's health. In judging and condemning, or in chiding, he had not by him divers measures, nor did he respect the person of man; but he studied the cause, and with the greatest discretion measured forth the degree of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the name of the fault, in due time and place. Yet the saint preached more by his silence than many doctors and rulers do by loud speaking, for his appearance, countenance, gait, and the gesture of his whole body, openly taught discipline, and by certain signs, bursting forth like water, indicated openly the purity of the inner man which lurked there." And he concludes the chapter with the following glowing tribute to his overflowing liberality:—"It is unnecessary to commit to writing his munificence, which spent itself wholly on alms-deeds and works of mercy, for all the substance which the Divine largess had bestowed upon him was the common treasury of the poor."

Perhaps I cannot better indicate the kindness and affectionateness of his disposition than by recounting the following story of his childhood, as given by Joceline*:

"The fellow-pupils of St. Kentigern, seeing that he was loved beyond the rest by their master and spiritual father, hated him, and were unable, either in public or private, to say anything peaceable to him. Hence in many ways they intrigued against, abused, envied, and backbit him. But the Lord's boy ever had the eye of his heart fixed upon the Lord; and mourning more for them than for himself, cared little for all the unjust machinations of men. Now a little bird, which on account of the colour of his body is called the redbreast, by the will of the Heavenly Father, without whose permission not even a sparrow falleth to the ground, was accustomed to receive its daily food from the hand of the servant of God, Servanus, and by such a custom being established, it showed itself tame and domesticated unto him. Sometimes even it perched upon his head or face or shoulder or bosom; sometimes it was with him when he read or prayed, and by the flapping of its wings, or by the sound of its inarticulate voice, or by some little gesture, it showed the love it had for him. So that sometimes the face of the man of God, shadowed forth in the motion of the bird, was clothed in joy, as he wondered at the great power of God in the little creature, to whom the dumb speak and the irrational things are known to have reason. And because that bird often approached and de-

* Cap. v.

parted at the command and will of the man of God, it excited incredulity and hardness of heart in his disciples and convicted them of disobedience. . . . Therefore, on a certain day, when the saint entered his oratory to offer up to God the frankincense of prayer, the boys, availing themselves of the absence of the master, began to indulge in play with the aforesaid little bird, and while they handled it among them, and sought to snatch it from each other, it got destroyed in their hands, and its head was torn from the body. On this play became sorrow, and they already, in imagination, saw the blows of the rod, which are wont to be the greatest torment to boys. Having taken counsel among themselves, they laid the blame on the boy Kentigern, who had kept himself entirely apart from the affair; and they showed him the dead bird, and threw it away from themselves before the old man arrived. But he took very ill the death of the bird, and threatened an extremely severe vengeance on its destroyer. The boys therefore rejoiced, thinking that they had escaped, and had turned on Kentigern the punishment due to them, and diminished the grace of friendship which Servanus had hitherto entertained for him.

"When Kentigern, the most pure child, learnt this, taking the bird in his hands, and putting the head upon the body, he signed it with the sign of the cross, and lifting up holy hands in prayer to the Lord, he said, 'Lord Jesus Christ, in whose hands is the breath of every rational and irrational creature, give back to this bird the breath of life, that Thy blessed name may be glorified for ever.' The words spake the saint in prayer, and straightway the bird revived, and not only with untrammelled flight rose in the air in safety, but also in its usual way it flew forth with joy to meet the holy old man as he returned from church. On seeing this prodigy the heart of the old man rejoiced in the Lord, and his soul did magnify the Lord's boy in the Lord, and the Lord, Who alone doeth marvellous things, and was working in the boy. By this remarkable sign, therefore, did the Lord mark out, nay, in a way, presignify, as his own, Kentigern, and announced him beforehand whom in after-times, in manifold ways, He made still more distinguished by wonders."

Such was the saint, whose troubles in his own city led him to seek peace and a friendly welcome in South Wales, and whose passage through Lancashire is the single ray of light which brightens up for us the darkness of the sixth century.

"At length, safe and sound, he reached Saint Dewi, and found in him greater works than had been reported by fame. But the holy Bishop Dewi rejoiced with great joy at the arrival of such and so great a stranger. With eyes overflowing with tears and mutually embracing, he received Kentigern as an

angel of the Lord, dear to God, and retaining him for a certain time in his immediate vicinity, always honoured him to a wonderful extent. Therefore, these two sons of light dwelt together, attending upon the Lord of the whole earth, like two lamps burning before the Lord, whose tongues became the keys of heaven, that by them a multitude of men might be deemed meet to enter therein. Those two saints were united together opposite each other, like the two cherubim in the holy of holies in the temple of the Lord, having their faces bent down towards the mercy seat. They lifted their wings on high in the frequent meditation upon heavenly things; they folded them down in the ordination and arrangement of earthly things. They touched each other mutually with their wings, as by the instruction of each other in the doctrine of salvation, and in the alternate energizing of virtues, they excited each other to a more earnest advance in sanctity. Thus these saints, either mentally rising up unto God, or being made useful to us, have left to posterity an example of laying hold of and labouring so as to attain to eternal life."

Of his life in Wales a brief notice will suffice. The King Cathwallain, father of Maelgwyn, of whom mention has already frequently been made, conceived a high esteem for him. "Knowing him to be a holy and righteous man, he heard him willingly, and after hearing him did much which concerned the good of his own soul. And when, on the occasion of the king from time to time inquiring, he expounded the causes why he left his native land, and said he would wish to live near, and have the means of building a monastery, where he might unite together a people acceptable of God, and devoted to good works, the king replied, 'My land is in thy sight, wheresoever it suiteth thee and seemeth good in thy sight, there construct the habitation of thy dwelling-place, there build thy monastery. Yet, as it seemeth to me that it is more suitable for thee than any other, I assign to thee a place, Nautcharvan, because it aboundeth in everything suited to thy purpose.' The man of God rendered profuse thanks to the king, and chose for his building and habitation that place which had been marked out for him by Divine intimation. Then giving his blessing to the king, he departed, and bidding farewell to St. Dewi, after mutual benediction, he betook himself to the place aforesaid, with a great multitude of disciples who had flocked to him, preferring to lead with him a lowly life in a foreign land to living without him luxuriously in their own."

In the twenty-fifth chapter we have a graphic account of the life of the monks in the monastery on the banks of the Elgu near its junction with the Clwyd.

"There flocked to the monastery of the man, old and young,

rich and poor, to take upon themselves the easy yoke and the light burden of the Lord. Nobles and men of the middle class brought to the saint their children to be trained unto the Lord. The tale of those who renounced the world increased day by day both in number and importance, so that the total number of those that enlisted in God's army amounted to 965, professing in act and habit the life of monastic rule according to the institution of the holy man. He divided this troop that had been collected together and devoted to the Divine service, into a threefold division of religious observance. For he appointed 300 who were unlettered to the duty of agriculture, the care of cattle, and the other necessary duties outside the monastery. He assigned another 300 to duties within the cloister of the monastery, such as doing the ordinary work, and preparing food and building workshops. The remaining 365, who were lettered, he appointed to the celebration of Divine service by day and by night, and he seldom allowed any of these to go forth out of the sanctuary, but ever to abide within as if in the holy place of the Lord. But those who were more advanced in wisdom and holiness, and who were fitted to teach others, he was accustomed to take along with him, when, at the urgent demand either of necessity or reason, he thought fit to go forth to perform his episcopal office. But dividing into troops and choirs those whom he had appointed for the service of God, he ordained that as soon as one choir had terminated its service in the church, immediately another entering should commence it, and that again being concluded, a third should enter to celebrate. Thus, the sacred choirs being conveniently and discreetly arranged so as to succeed in turn, while the work of God was celebrated perpetually, prayer was regularly made to God without ceasing of the church there; and by praising God at every time, His praise ever resounded in their mouths."

It would be interesting to dwell on his relations with St. Asaph, whose character is described as being as charming and as attractive as that of his saintly master; but this would only lead us away from our main subject. I need but say that Joceline tells us that he betook himself seven times to Rome, bringing home what he learnt there for the correction of the British people, and that, as he was returning for the seventh time, he was attacked by a most grievous malady, and got home with the greatest difficulty.*

The saint was now growing old, and he looked forward to a peaceful close of his days in the beloved monastery he had founded, when the disturbances occurred which ended in the battle of Ardderyd in 573, and which gave a new impulse to the

* Cap. xxvii.

Christian religion. Rhydderch, now King of Aldclyde and virtual ruler of the whole western coast as far as the Dee, was distressed at the state to which he found the true faith reduced, and he set himself in earnest to provide a remedy. After much consideration, by the advice of his trustiest counsellors, he determined on recalling St. Kentigern to his northern See. For the reputation of the saint was not confined to the neighbourhood of his monastery in the beautiful Vale of Clwyd, but he still lived in the memory and love of his original flock. The king therefore sent urgent letters to him to beg him to return, appealing to him in touching terms and reminding him that "a spouse should not desert his bride, the shepherd his flock, nor the prelate his Church, for the love of which he ought to lay down his life." St. Kentigern received the message in deep silence, for he loved the repose of the sanctuary, and he wished earnestly that his bones should rest in the midst of his beloved sons, whom he had gathered around him. That night he spent in prayer, and the following morning, when the day dawned, he called his disciples together, and announced to them his intention of returning to Glasgow.

Joceline gives the following simple and pathetic account of his telling the news to the monks and of his taking his farewell:—

Having called his disciples together, he said unto them: "I speak as a man unto you, dearly beloved; I desired, after long thought and deliberation, according to the infirmity of my flesh, that these mine aged eyes should be closed by you, and that my bones should be hidden in the womb of the mother of all, in the sight of all of you. But since the life of man is not in his own power, it is laid upon me by the Lord that I should return unto mine own church of Glasgow; nor ought we, nor dare we, nor will we, contradict the words of the Holy One, as Job saith, nor in any wise go against it, but in all things obey His will and command, even to our life's end. Do you therefore, most beloved ones, stand firm in the faith. Quit you like men, and be comforted, and seek always that everything be done in charity." These and many things like these he said in their presence, and lifting his hand he blessed them. Then with the unanimous consent of all he appointed St. Asaph to the government of the monastery, and by the petition of the people and by canonical election the successor of his bishopric; and after that he delivered a profound sermon at great length, of faith, hope, and charity, of mercy and justice, of humility and obedience, of holy peace and of mutual forbearance, of avoiding vice and acquiring virtue, of observing the institutes of the holy Roman Church, of the regular

* Cap. xxxi.

discipline and exercises which he had established, to be observed by them all, and, in fact, of constancy and perseverance to the end in all good things.

When the sermon was over he enthroned St. Asaph in the cathedral See, and again blessing and taking leave of them all, he went forth by the north door of the church, because he was going forth to combat the northern enemy. After he had gone out that door was closed, and all who witnessed and heard of his egress and departure bewailed his absence with great lamentations. Hence a custom grew up in that church that that door should never be opened save once a year, on the day of St. Asaph, that is, on the kalend of May, for two reasons—first, in deference to the sanctity of him who had gone forth, and next, that thereby was indicated the great grief of those who had bewailed his departure. Therefore on the day of St. Asaph that door is opened, because, when he succeeded to St. Kentigern in the government, their mourning was turned into joy.

In his return journey he was accompanied by a vast company of the monks, no less than 665, but no details of his route are given. His would be like the march of a small army, though bent only on peaceful ends, and if as was likely he returned the way he came, Lancashire priests and people would again listen to his stirring words, and find faith and charity renewed by his gracious presence.

The King, hearing of his arrival from Wallia into Cambria, accompanied by great numbers of his people, went out to meet him. On every side resounded words of thanksgiving, praise, and joy, while the holy bishop himself burst forth into the exclamation, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will."

As Joceline tells us that one of his journeys to Rome was made during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, and as that Pope did not begin to reign until 590, this visit must have taken place after our saint's departure from St. Asaph's. His saintly demeanour made a great impression on that sagacious Pope, who conceived a high esteem for him. St. Kentigern laid before him certain doubts about his consecration as bishop, and earnestly begged of him to supply any omission in the rite. St. Gregory gave the matter his most serious consideration, and satisfied himself that nothing essential was wanting; but at length he yielded, though with great reluctance, to his importunity, and with his own hands supplied the missing parts of the service.

We need not further pursue the career of St. Kentigern, nor speak of his holy and happy death at an advanced old age in his own city of Glasgow.

After his decease, owing to many causes, Glasgow ceased to

have any religious connection with Lancashire, and in process of time St. Kentigern's services to religion in our county passed out of the memory of man. The conquests of the Saxons and the ravages of the Danes turned the thoughts of men into other channels, and in time York again took the place of Glasgow, and St. Wilfrid's name was reverenced instead of that of St. Kentigern.

In the nineteenth century it has been reserved for Dr. Forbes, a Scotch bishop, to re-edit the Life of the Saint by Joceline, along with St. Ælred's Life of St. Ninian, and so bring before us the important part played by both those great servants of God in keeping alive the faith in the minds of the British inhabitants of our north-western shores.

ROB. GRADWELL.

ART. IV.—ABYSSINIA AND ITS PEOPLE.

1. *Meine Mission nach Abessinien im Winter 1880–1881.*
Von GERHARD ROHLS. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1883.
2. *Abissinia.* Di PIPPO VIGONI. Milano: Hoepli. 1881.
3. *In Abissinia. Viaggio di PELLEGRINO MATTEUCCI.* Milano: Treves. 1880.
4. *Les Eglises monolithes de la Ville de Lalibela.* Par ACHILLE RAFFRAY. Paris: Morel et Cie. 1882.
5. *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia.* By W. McE. DYE. New York. 1880.
6. *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa, 1874–1879.* By GEORGE BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L. (Second Edition.) London: De la Rue. 1884.
7. *Les Missions Catholiques.* Lyon.

DURING the effervescence of popular imagination accompanying the heroic romance of the Crusades, a strange tale began to circulate in Europe. A Christian potentate, the descendant of the Magi, the champion of the Cross, at once king and priest, warrior and pontiff, had been discovered in the far East, ruling a wondrous realm under the name of Presbyter Johannes or Prester John. To this shadowy personage a papal embassy and epistle were actually directed, but the letter, written by Pope Alexander III. from the Rialto, Venice, on September 27, 1177, failed, as may be imagined, to reach its destination; while the envoy, one Philip, physician to his Holiness, never returned to give an account of his mission.

Nevertheless, the belief in the mythical monarch, effaced for a time, revived as though written in sympathetic ink on the human brain, called out at intervals by the heat of imaginative excitement. Thus, when the conquest of Genghiz Khan sent a spasm of terror through Europe, intensified by the belief that the Tartar invasion would be accompanied by the appearance of Antichrist, the outbreak of the hosts of Gog and Magog from their Asiatic prison, and all the signs of the end of the world, a fresh crop of legends associated Prester John with the new scourge of humanity, and he was fabled to have fallen in battle with the Mongol hordes.

But, though early tradition seemed thus to assign the fabulous Christian empire its seat in Asia, the prevailing confusion of geographical ideas rendered it easy for later romance to transfer it to a place in Africa, and we accordingly find Renaissance writers unanimous in identifying Prester John with the ruler of Abyssinia. Here, indeed, some of the conditions of the legend were found to exist; here was a fragment of Christendom isolated in the heart of Paganism; here reliques of a lost civilization and landmarks of a forgotten past; and here sufficient of the wild trappings of barbaric splendour to supply an outline for fancy to fill in with a stately fabric of royal pomp.

A curious confirmation of the African origin of the tale is found in Bruce's suggested derivation of Prete Gianni, the later form of the monarch's name, from the cry, *Rete o Djanhoi*, "Do me justice, oh my king!" which he heard resounding day and night round the dwelling of the sovereign of Abyssinia. We find this form of the title embodied in Ariosto's verse, where in the description of the English Paladin's visit to the Ethiopian potentate, the prevailing ideas as to Abyssinia were no doubt summed up. The two following stanzas are curious in this respect:—

Senapus, who doth Ethiopia sway
As emperor, and bears the cross in hand
For sceptre, whom all tribes and towns obey;
Who treasure owns hence to the Red Sea strand,
Who in like faith with ours his vows doth pay,
Lest in eternal exile he be banned.
And his the land (unless I err) whose nation
Use fire in baptism's administration.

The Soldan, Egypt's sovereign lord they say,
Homage and tribute renders to this king,
Since he hath power from its accustomed way
To turn the Nile, and through fresh channels bring,
And so to leave proud Cairo a prey—
With all the land around—to hunger's sting.
Senapus styled by those who homage owe him,
As Prester we, or Preteianni know him.

To the Portuguese attempts to open communications with the mythical Prester John, and find that other *ignis fatuus* of early adventure—a route to India through his dominions—is due the rediscovery of Abyssinia, and its introduction to modern civilization. The first envoy, Pedro de Covilham, was despatched in 1490, but it is to Father Alvarez, who accompanied the second mission in 1520, that we owe the most detailed and authentic description of the country, compiled during his six years' residence there. His narrative is exceedingly curious, the manners and customs observed by him closely tallying with those still prevailing, while his analysis of ecclesiastical institutions is naturally fuller and more comprehensive than can be looked for from lay travellers.

Abyssinia, though then for the first time made known to modern Europe, had already a history reaching back to remote antiquity, in which truth and fable were mixed in proportions now undiscernible. A tradition, undoubtedly very ancient, and accepted by the people themselves with unquestioning faith, ascribes their origin to a Jewish colony, led by Menelik, a prince of illustrious descent on both sides, since sprung from the fabled union of Solomon with the Queen of Sheba. The heir of his royal mother's realm, of which the capital is identified with the ancient city of Saaba, near the modern Khartoum, he adhered nevertheless to the faith of his father, and brought with him from Jerusalem, not only twelve Jewish elders to instruct his people in its dogmas, but its most august symbols, the Ark of the Covenant and Golden Cherubim, for which copies were fraudulently substituted in the Hebrew Temple. The present Negoosa of Ethiopia thus bears the title of King of Zion, and claims to represent the royal House of Judah by lineal descent from the grandson of David.

But setting aside legend, Ethiopia, long a province of Egypt and a partner in her civilization, has a sufficiently ancient record even in authentic history. In the opening centuries of the Christian era came its most brilliant period of independent existence, when, as the seat of the kingdom of the Axumites, founded by a Ptolemaic colony, it occupied a prominent position among Oriental states. The imperial city of Axum, whose sculptured monoliths still remain to attest its former greatness, was then the point of contact between Central Africa and the remote East, and through its seaport Adulis, the modern Zoula, exported gold-dust and ivory, skins and musk and gums, in exchange for the spices and tissues of Persia and Ceylon.

To a foreign youth, shipwrecked on her coast, and enslaved by her people, Abyssinia owed her early conversion to Christianity. Frumentius having risen from his humble position to one of power

and influence in the country, became its apostle, and was consecrated its first bishop about 330 A.D. Monasticism, introduced from Egypt a century later, found here a not less congenial soil, and the hermitages of the Theban Desert had their counterparts on the cliff-bound summits of Ethiopia.

The conquest in the sixth century of the Homerite kingdom of Yemen, undertaken by Caleb or Elesban, king of Abyssinia, at the instance of Justinian, raised the Axumite Empire to its meridian of splendour, and conferred on it a considerable territory in Arabia, retained for sixty-seven years. The subsequent obliteration of Ethiopia was due to the great westerly rush of Mohammedanism, which though deflected by its impregnable mountain ramparts, swept past and round it, leaving it islanded in the midst of that deluge. The solitary stronghold of Christianity in Africa, it was the asylum of Coptic and Jewish refugees from Egypt and Syria, but gradually declined in culture and manners, as it became more completely blockaded by the advance of Islam.

The only noteworthy incident in its subsequent history down to its rediscovery by Portugal, occurred about 960 A.D., when a certain Jewish princess named Judith, belonging to a tribe of Hebrew immigrants, conceived and executed the design of possessing herself of the throne by the massacre of the reigning family. One royal infant, however, carried in the arms of faithful attendants to Shoa, survived to perpetuate the House of Solomon, of which through descent from this child in the female line, Menelik, the present tributary king of Shoa, is the most authentic representative. The line of the usurper continued in power for 340 years, after which the rightful heir of the former dynasty was restored to his throne.

The Portuguese, from their first visit to Abyssinia in 1490, kept up close relations with it during a century and a half. They sent a small contingent to assist the natives against the Mussulman invader, Mohammed Gragn, in the sixteenth century, and contributed to develop the material resources of the country by building bridges, palaces, and churches—still standing to attest their influence. In Gondar, the capital, they settled in sufficient numbers to modify the type of the native population to an extent still traceable at the present day. The Portuguese Jesuits had even succeeded in temporarily reconciling the Abyssinian Church to the obedience of Rome, when a change of sovereigns in 1633 led to their final expulsion.

Visited since then by European travellers only at long intervals, Abyssinia has been little known to the rest of the world. A recrudescence of savagery was produced by repeated incursions of the rude Galla tribes from the south, and as the daughters of

the warrior chiefs of this nation were sought in marriage by the native aristocracy, a fresh barbarian element became assimilated by the ruling classes of Ethiopia. The turbulent spirit thus infused into the population prepared the way for the disruption of the Empire; the vassal chiefs asserted independent rule in their respective provinces, and the heir of the House of Solomon, living as a pensioner in his palace at Gondar, became, like the later emperors of Rome, a sceptred puppet in the hands of the most powerful or ambitious of his nominal subjects.

It was during this period of civil convulsion, that there emerged into notoriety one of those military adventurers destined to rise to power from the heaving dregs of chaos. Lidj Kassai, born about 1818, of noble parentage, but in comparatively obscure circumstances, early left the convent in which he had received a semi-priestly education, to inaugurate the wild romance of his life in more congenial fashion, as chief of a band of freebooters. Having inherited later from his uncle the government of Kwara, he forcibly seized that of the adjacent province of Démbea, consolidated his position still farther both by victories over his rivals and by marriage with the daughter of Ras Ali, the most formidable amongst them, and was ultimately, in March 1855, crowned by the Abouna as Negoosa Negust, King of Kings, or Emperor of Ethiopia. He assumed the name of Théodros, consecrated in Abyssinian tradition as that of a future kingly hero, destined to crush the power of Islam, restore the ancient glories of Ethiopia, and seat himself on his ancestral throne of Zion. How the Empire, restored amid such ambitious auguries, resulted in a ruthless reign of rapine and slaughter;* how the half-insane monarch, haunted even amid the delirium of wine and carnage by glimmerings of a better self, drew down the vengeance of England by imprisonment and mal-treatment of her subjects and official representatives; and how the heaven-sent hero of prophecy ended his career, abandoned and accursed by his own people, as the miserable suicide of Magdala, is a tale too fresh in public memory to need more than bare recapitulation here.

The reign of Theodore marks a transition period in the history of Abyssinia, separating its long past of isolation from that new chapter of recurring contact with other nations which is still unfolding. The British expedition, too, seemed to give the western mind some substantial hold on a region previously regarded as almost outside the pale of accurate knowledge. Yet even

* A curious instance of official morality is furnished by Lord Russell's letter to Theodore, thanking him in the name of the British Government for the announcement that he had avenged the death of Consul Plowden, by the massacre of 1,500 unresisting prisoners, of the tribe which had committed the attack on him.

still no portion of Africa lying equally close to its seaboard is so little known as Abyssinia, whose physical and social conditions conspire to discourage the explorer. Travelling, which Nature has impeded by the interposition of the most formidable mountain ramparts, is still, as in past ages, prohibited save by special license of the king; and neither means of transport or necessities of life can be procured without a royal mandate for the purpose. To the ordinary traveller the country is thus practically closed, and as official visitors are generally conducted only to the royal headquarters, the outlying provinces are still almost *terra incognita*.

"Tell me the geography of a country," Victor Cousin has said, "and I will tell you its future." Now if strongly marked natural features can assist this species of cosmographical palmistry, the fortunes of the Ethiopian Switzerland should be legibly written on its surface. For here we have a region so rent and cloven to its nethermost foundations, so humped and bossed with rock-masses towering high above them, so torrent-racked and rent through all its crag-anatomy, so storm weathered and splintered in its fantastically contorted crest, that it seems not to have been sculptured by slow processes of Nature, through gradual development into its present form, but shaped in the throes of some great cataclysm, and torn and shattered by the same convulsion that gave it birth.

Springing from the belting plains of the Red Sea in a succession of precipitous rock-flights with intervening mountain-locked plateaus, it reaches its highest altitude in the snow-clad ranges of Semyen, culminating in peaks 15,000 and 16,000 feet high. A stupendous mass of writhing ridges here forms the eastern wall of the great central plateau of Amhara, dominating the surrounding provinces from its imperial elevation of 8,000 feet, and containing Gondar the capital, the vast lake of Tzana or Démbea, and the sources of the Bahr-el-Azrak or Blue Nile, in the mountains of Gojam, its southern parapet. This alpine region, broken and bristling with cross ranges, and deeply scored with valley-troughs through which the affluents of the Nile have cut their way, slopes westward in shelving terraces and falling ledges, until it merges in the scorching levels of the Egyptian Soudan.

Southward from Amhara lies, at a lower level, the province or kingdom of Gojam, closely hugged within the great spiral coil of the Blue Nile, and still nearer the equator is the tributary kingdom of Shoa, the richest district of Abyssinia, renowned for its exuberant pastures and productive soil. North of the Amhara highlands, and overlapping them to the east, stretches the frontier province of Tigré, with Adowa for its capital, and the rivers

Mareb and Tacazzé, or upper Atbara, for its boundaries; while still further from the centre is the plateau of Barnagash, the third and lowest terrace on the sea slope of the hills.

The entire territory of Abyssinia covers an area of some 200,000 square miles, approximately that of France, and runs 630 miles from north to south, between 7° 30' and 15° 40' N. lat., and 530 miles from east to west from 45° to 40° 30' E. long. Lying thus altogether within the northern torrid zone, its climate is so modified by diversity of elevation, that its general average may be classed as rather temperate than tropical, and like Mexico it is regarded by its inhabitants as being triply divided into regions corresponding to the *Tierras Calientes*, *Templadas*, and *Frias* of that country. The Kollas, or hot lowlands of Abyssinia, extend to 5,500 feet above the sea-level; the middle zone, called woindenza, or wine-highlands from the grape-culture once extensively practised there, is comprised within the next two thousand feet of elevation, while the denka or alpine region extends from 7,500 feet upwards.

Rearing its enormous rock-bastions right in the track of the south-east monsoon, Abyssinia intercepts the moisture-supply of a continent, and robs the carrier clouds of the vapours of the Indian Ocean ere they can reach the arid plains of Nubia. It gives back, however, in another form to the lands under its thirsty lee, the watery dues thus filched from them, since while sending no single permanent stream from its eastern slope to the Red Sea, it pours the full volume of its liquid tribute into the Mediterranean, through the one great arterial drain of Northern Africa.

Egypt, styled by Herodotus "the gift of the Nile," might by modern geographers be still more aptly termed the largesse of Abyssinia. Not from the sluggish ditch strained and filtered through the vast floating meadows of the Bahr-el-Gazal comes the alluvium that fattens the Delta, not by the dull stream rolled from the full heart of Africa to pause and clear in the Equatorial Lakes, is brought the freight of fertilizing slime that confers perpetual youth with perpetual fecundity on the venerable mother of civilization. It is the sudden cataracts that yearly plunge down the Abyssinian steeps, foul and fetid with the scour of Ethiopia, thick with mud-avalanches loosened from the quaking slopes of Semyen, clogged with earth-wreckage stripped from the scoured valley sides of Démbea, black with landslips ploughed from the furrowed plains of Tigré, that work the ever-recurring miracle, and each year create Egypt anew, like Eve from the side of Adam, of the very, soil and substance of the flank of Africa.

Nor is it the Equatorial Nile that, from beneath its ever-reeking

skies, sends the mysterious yearly tide pulsating along three thousand miles of desert to the sea. The main contingent of the annual inundation comes with a mighty rush from the Ethiopian hills, where the monsoon has burst in its fury, sending down the roaring floods through all the sun-scorched channels of lands that have not seen a hand's-breadth of cloud in the sky.

The suddenness of their swoop upon the plains was witnessed by Sir Samuel Baker* in the case of the Atbara, the Bahr-el-Aswâd, or Black River of the Arabs.† This, the last affluent received by the Nile, sends during nine months of the year no single drop of water to swell the main current, as its bed, for a hundred miles above the confluence, is between September and June a glaring tract of sand, distinguishable from the surrounding desert only by its thicket-fringes of mimosa. The English traveller, encamped by this dry trench, was wakened in the dead of a summer night (June 22) by a continuous rumble like that of approaching artillery waggons, and saw his Arab neighbours snatch their effects in wild haste from the bed of the stream, announcing by their shrill cry of "El Bahr! el Bahr!" that the river was upon them in all the thunder-fury of its flood. It was indeed the Black Nile that came bellowing down in full charge from the mountains, a leaping wall of waters with the momentum of a cataract, champing and grinding the rock masses it had wrench'd from the skeleton ribs of Abyssinia. In the morning a dark and turbid flood rolled from bank to bank, where a few hours before the herds of the Bedouin had tramped fetlock deep in sand.

The rise of the Blue Nile, though less sudden, synchronizes with that of the Atbara, and it is to the inrush of these two mighty torrents that the inundation in Egypt is mainly due. The steady volume of the White Nile, on the other hand, fed by the shifting but never wholly absent equatorial rain-belt, alone enables the Nile to survive at all seasons its passage through the Nubian desert, and saves it from being, like its Abyssinian tributary, a periodical though colossal stream.

The rise of the rivers and water-clogged heaviness of the soil during the rainy season render locomotion impossible, and thereby impose an enforced truce along the Abyssinian frontier, where the wild border tribes, predatory followers of Nimr-el-Mek the Tiger King, Hamran Arabs the daring sword-hunters of the elephant, vagrant Tukruri and savage Basé, are at all other times

* "The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia." Sir Samuel W. Baker. London. 1869.

† Also called by them *Zibdet-un-Nil*, Cream of the Nile, from the supposed quality of its waters.

in a state of chronic guerilla warfare. As the rains occur earlier on the Red Sea slopes than in the interior, their inhabitants sometimes plant successive crops in different localities, and the dwellers on one mountain, whose crest parts the seasons, escape their vicissitudes by alternate residence on both sides of the range.

The savage violence of its temporary torrents has imprinted on the landscape of Abyssinia its singularly abrupt and dislocated character. Each mountain group, instead of standing on a common platform with the general mass of elevation of the country, forms as it were an insulated block, deeply entrenched round with water-cleft gorges. So perpendicular are the walls of some of the stream-fissures, that a sudden flood leaves to those overtaken by it within the chasm no possibility of escape, and during the British expedition, not even the warning of the electric telegraph was always in time to save men and cattle from this form of danger.

Volcanic action, though no longer in operation, is still traceable in the unmistakable outlines of long-quiescent craters, and in the ancient lavas ejected by them; as well as in the basaltic formation of some of the mountains, uplifted in terraces faced with fluted cliffs like the front of an organ.

But the most characteristic landmarks of Abyssinia are its "ambas," great tabular masses of mountain, whose summits, often many leagues in extent, are girt with sheer precipices on all sides. Inaccessible in many cases save by ropes or ladders, they are used as State prisons, and in their lofty isolation the princes of the blood royal are by Abyssinian custom compelled to wear away their unhappy lives. It is interesting to note that this singular practice, recorded by the Jesuit Father Lobo, in his account of his travels in Abyssinia, obviously suggested the story of Rasselas to Dr. Johnson, who translated the work. Madagascar contains some specimens of the same mountain form, and there a similar name, *ambo*, a rock, is applied to them.

Abyssinia, with its copious rainfall, torrid sun, and gradual stages of climatic elevation, has the capability of producing almost all the vegetable growths of the universe. In the forcing-house temperature of the lowlands, two or even three harvests may be gathered in the year, and sowing and reaping, with all the intermediate stages of the crop, may be seen at one and the same time. Only an inferior grain, however, called *dagusha*, a species of millet, will thrive here, and the black bread made from it is used by the poor exclusively. This region is the home of tropical vegetation, and palms, bananas, sugar-cane, and gum-acacias, cotton, indigo, tamarinds, saffron, senna, and other drugs may be enumerated among its productions. Gigantic baobabs

and sycamores, attaining a girth of twelve or fifteen yards, grow along its river-banks, while on some of the lakes and upper waters the papyrus is so abundant that Bruce conjectures it to have made its way hence to Egypt.

The vine region, or woina denka, with its lower limit some 5,500 feet above the sea, was once, as its name implies, principally devoted to the culture of the grape, introduced, it is supposed, by the Greeks, but now almost abandoned. The principal crop raised is *teff* (*Poa Abissinica*), from whose minute seed, no larger than a pin's head, the favourite bread of the country is made. Barley, oats, beans, and lentils are also grown, while orange and lemon, peach and olive trees flourish in a wild state, producing only uneatable fruit. The most characteristic growths are the kolqual, a *Euphorbia* extending rigid branches in regular candelabra form; and the *Echinops giganteus*, a monster tree-thistle, eight or ten feet high, with seed-balls, each as large as a man's head, a banquet for a Brobdingnagian donkey.

The upper highlands produce oats, barley, and pasture; while as high as ten thousand feet flourishes the kosso-tree, famous for its properties as a vermisuge, a powerful dose of the infusion of whose blossoms is taken at regular intervals by all the natives of the country, as a specific for the malady engendered by the consumption of raw meat. The snow-limit is reached only by some of the peaks of the Semyen ranges, which wear their winter livery all through the year.

Prolific in animal as in vegetable life, Abyssinia harbours all the great game of Africa, and its border provinces are a favourite resort of enterprising sportsmen. Hither, too, come professional dealers in wild animals, to secure for European menageries specimens of the lion, elephant, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, buffalo, and giraffe, as well as of lesser beasts, such as leopards, zebras, gazelles, and antelopes of every variety. Vast crocodiles of greenish hue lie in wait for the lesser game at the drinking-places by the streams, and troops of dog-faced baboons colonize the clefts of the rocks, and amuse travellers by their mimicry of humanity. Birds, many of them of the most vivid and varied plumage, are so numerous that Mr. Mansfield Parkyns, during a residence of several years in the country, collected as many as three hundred different species.

Swarms of locusts are among the most dreaded visitations, and formidable to animals as they to plants is the *seroot*, the "fly" *par excellence* of the rainy season, from whose punctured bites the cattle almost bleed to death. In compensation for these insect scourges, bees are not less abundant, and honey, both wild and cultivated, is one of the principal articles of food. Among

entomological curiosities, the most noteworthy is the paussus, a creature which lives at free quarters in the dwellings of the white ants, and resents impudent familiarity by detonating and expelling a puff of acrid smoke on being touched.

The productive soil of Abyssinia maintains a relatively small population, whose figure, generally estimated at from three to four millions, Herr Rohlfs, the most recent German traveller, would reduce to a million and a half. The heat and miasmatic exhalations of the valleys being prohibitory of residence there, villages and habitations are universally found on the higher levels, while the lower are only visited occasionally.

Africans in a geographical but not in an ethnological sense, the Abyssinians are now regarded as belonging to a group of races, collectively termed Kushite, comprising Somalis, Gallas, and their offshoots, Taltals, Adals, and Danákils, as well as Nubians and Bisharín. This family is believed to have extended through southern Arabia to the Gulf of Oman and the lower Euphrates, whose inhabitants, the Lemlouns, have been identified with the Bisharín of the Eastern Soudan.

The Gheez, or ancient Ethiopic tongue, still the liturgical language of the Abyssinian Church, is a Semitic idiom akin to Arabic and Hebrew. In its alphabet the vowels, having no separate symbols, are indicated only by a sixfold modification of each consonant character, expressing the associated vocal sound. Amharic, the official language of modern Abyssinia, spoken by the court, the army, and the upper classes generally, is not regarded as an offshoot from the earlier tongue, although embodying many of the words contained in it. A third idiom, the Agow, conjectured to be that of the autochthonous race, is very widely spoken, in some provinces by the lower orders exclusively, in others by the whole population. The Tigrean dialect again is of sufficient importance to be studied as a separate language.

The Arabic name *Habesh*, of which Abyssinia is a corrupt form, signifies a mixture, and though not used by the natives who style themselves Itjopians, and their country Manghesta (Itjopia), conveys an undoubted truth. The present population, whatever its original stock, represents a miscellaneous compound of races, though to a certain extent all modified in harmony with a prevailing type. With skin of every shade of colour, from golden chestnut to glistening bronze and ebon blackness, the Abyssinians are in general distinguished from other African races by a regularity of feature and symmetry of form unknown elsewhere on the continent. Even the inevitable infusion of negro blood, elsewhere so potent in asserting itself, seems here to have been absorbed unobtrusively. Slender and athletic frames, extremities small and shapely, hands in both sexes daintily

turned and tiny almost to a fault, are points that seem to belong to the thorough-bred human animal. The Abyssinian women are admittedly handsome, and command a high price in the slave-market. They seem to be without moral sensibility, and usually conform as a matter of course to Mohammedanism when introduced into a household of that persuasion.

Fanatically religious as is the Abyssinian in fierce intolerance of other creeds, his attachment to his own seems rather theoretical than practical. His virtues and vices are alike of the savage order, and in habits and modes of thought he is little, if at all, above the heathen natives of Africa. His lively intelligence is neutralized by apathetic indolence, and his quick imagination deadened by strong animal passions. Garrulous, vain-glorious, and self-important, both his courage and cruelty as a warrior are stimulated by his craving for applause. Though not without superficial amiability, his power of strong attachment may be doubted, yet his shallowness of feeling is by no means incompatible with a certain turbid depth of dissimulation. Nevertheless, he is not incapable of truth and fidelity, and Mr. Rassam, who as British envoy shared the later imprisonment of Theodore's captives, met with some striking instances both of kindness and fidelity on the part of his jailers and attendants.

Family affection scarcely exists in Abyssinia, where the extreme laxity of domestic ties dissolves all bond of union. Polygamy, though never condoned by the Church, is sanctioned by public opinion, and the ecclesiastical marriage, being indissoluble, is seldom contracted. The civil form, apart from the festivities that accompany it, consists of a mutual pledge exchanged in presence of witnesses, and revocable at the pleasure of the parties. A third order of marriage, lower even than this, admits of absolute plurality of wives, and is common among the upper classes. But as all these irregularities are matter of excommunication, a large section of the population are under the ban of the Church, while it is generally only those advanced in life who seek its removal by having their unions consecrated at the altar. To priests only one marriage is permitted, and the same rule sometimes applies to the sovereign, who often receives some form of ordination.

The Abyssinian dwelling is of the rudest, and, we may add, of the dirtiest. A circular structure, with grass or reeds overhead, in the form of an umbrella-thatch, and reeds or grass underfoot by way of carpet, a raised shelf for sleeping-chamber, a pair of stones for grinding corn, some capacious jars for hydromel or butter, with smaller ones for minor articles of food; a sofa or bedstead, consisting of a wooden frame, laced with strips of ox-hide; a few skins or rugs, weapons or implements—such are the aspect and objects it offers to the eye. How it affects another

sense we shall only hint by saying that the low and narrow door affords the sole admittance for light and air, that the domestic animals are as much at home within it as without, that the grass carpet becomes a perfect treasury of accumulating and festering refuse, and that the inhabitants, while abhorring all contact with water as though afflicted with hydrophobia, make lavish use of rancid butter as a cosmetic for their hair and persons. When we have added, by way of illustrating the prevailing standard of domiciliary refinement, that the royal mules and horses have their allotted place in the presence-chamber close beside the monarch's divan, we shall have sufficiently indicated why the European traveller generally prefers the shelter of the leakiest and draughtiest tent, or a night in the open air itself, to one passed within the fragrant precincts of an Ethiopian dwelling.

The food of the people is equally uninviting to foreign taste. Its principal condiment is butter, preserved in an oleaginous state, forming a substance known as *same*, of smell and savour more strong than appetizing. Mixed with capsicums, bean-flour, and antelope's flesh, dried and powdered, it constitutes a glutinous compound called *shiré*, used as a sauce for all dishes. The finest bread is made from *teff*, and baked from semi-fluid dough into flexible leaf-like sheets, is the accompaniment of all meals. It serves not only as plate and table-napkin, but as spoon and fork as well, other food being rolled in it, and so conveyed to the mouth after a dip into red-pepper sauce. It is thus the Abyssinians swallow those revolting morsels cut from the newly slain beast and still quivering with its life, which form the choicest delicacy of their feasts. These vulture-banquets, described by the earliest travellers, are still in vogue; and the traditional course of brind, or raw beef, has been seen by the latest visitors served at the royal table. Nor is it always disguised in a wrapper of *teff*-cake, but devoured in ruder fashion, held up in great slices by the attendants to the lips of the guests, who with knife or even sword slice off the morsel as they masticate it, with imminent peril to their noses. To the Abyssinians might justly be applied the pithy sentence of that early explorer who, when called on to describe the manners and customs of certain natives, acquitted himself of his task by saying, "Manners they have none, and their customs are very beastly."

Honey, diluted with three parts of water, and fermented with the addition of bitter leaves, called *guecha*, forms *tedge*, the favourite and universal drink. *Bouza*, an inferior beer, is made from roasted barley; and *tallas*, a third quality, from fermented crusts of *durra* bread. As these beverages are drunk in large potations, inebriety is by no means uncommon.

So voracious is the Abyssinian appetite for flesh, that the entire

carcass and offal of a cow will be consumed raw in a few hours by a score or so of men. A curious superstition as to food, prevailing here as well as among the tribes about Lake Tanganyika, is that those partaking of it must be shielded from observation. Servants consequently hold up their garments as a screen before their masters at mealtime; and a party of men, dining in the open air, will throw a cloth over their collective heads to ensure privacy. A remote analogy with some Indian caste prejudices is perhaps traceable here.

The universal outer garment of both sexes is the shamma, a long piece of cotton cloth, skilfully draped round the person. The strictest etiquette prescribes its disposition, and makes it the measure of social respect. The reverence due to royalty, or its immediate representatives, requires it to be girt round the waist, leaving the upper part of the body uncovered, and varying degrees of deference are indicated by corresponding gradations in its position. The king and his ministers receive ordinary visitors with their faces muffled to the eyes in its folds, which, however, are gradually withdrawn after the first assertion of social superiority. All Abyssinians go barefooted and bare-headed, but a straw parasol is sometimes carried as a shade.

Home-grown cotton is manufactured into fabrics suitable for native use; but the art of dyeing it has not been attained, though indigo grows wild, and the red stripe which commonly ornaments the shamma is woven of threads procured by raveling a kind of cloth imported from North Italy for the purpose. The manufacture of rude pottery, basket-work (so closely woven as to be capable of containing liquids), and the tanning of hides, in which they excel, are their other chief industries. The fine goldsmiths' work of Gondar was wrought entirely by Mussulman artisans, a separate quarter of the city having been, down to the present reign, occupied altogether by Mohammedans.

All trade is carried on at weekly markets, as shops do not exist. Travellers, precluded from purchasing for themselves, are dependent for food and transport on requisitions levied by royal decree. The Austrian dollar with the effigy of Maria Theresa is the only coin current, nor would any other be accepted in its place. Small change is represented by the amoile, a block of rock-salt, weighing 750 grammes, and of about the size of a whetstone. It varies in value, according to the distance it has travelled from the coast region which supplies it, but has a fixed standard of purchasing power in each place.

The most active centre of trade in Abyssinia, though practically inaccessible to European commerce since it is forty-three difficult marches from the coast, is the great bi-weekly market of Baso in the southern province of Gojam. This mart, visited by Signor

Matteucci, taps the virgin riches of the Galla countries, and is attended by vast caravans from Kaffa, Enarea, and Gemma, which encamp for a week in the neighbourhood of the town. The precious nature of the commodities bartered in this remote emporium, in contrast with the primitive rudeness of their surroundings, realizes the idea of Eastern commerce. The finest coffee from Enarea is shaken out of rough sacks of hide, nuggets of gold are hidden away in bags of corn, elephant tusks are flung in piles on the bare ground, and great ox-horns are redolent of the priceless petulance of the civet-cat; since the animal, tamed and caged, is deliberately angered twice a year, when its glands secrete the odorous oil that expresses its impatience, and enriches its tormentor. Human merchandize, invoiced and passed through the customs as "black ivory," is unfortunately one of the principal wares, and the Italian traveller reiterates the oft-told tale of the debasing horrors of the slave-market. Its average prices are 200 francs for a healthy man, 300 for a woman, 100 for a boy, and 500 for a girl, rock-salt being the substitute for coin.

Traffic and all communications throughout the country are carried on under the most extreme difficulty, as art has done nothing to overcome the obstacles interposed by Nature. The roads are little better than rocky staircases, and their frequent intersection by river-gorges makes the journey an alternation of headlong plunges from the crest to the trough, and of toilsome escalades from the trough to the crest of the land. Mules and oxen are the beasts of carriage, and fragile merchandise cannot be expected to survive long on their backs. Horses are the luxury of the rich, who consider it degradation to be seen on foot, and ride out attended by a mounted retinue. Like many of the Arabs, the Abyssinians use the ring-stirrup, through which the great toe is passed; hence the native saddle is useless to Europeans. They are accomplished cavaliers, and have a good breed of horses with a strain of desert blood. Adepts in the use of the lance and sword, their firearms are mostly of an antiquated pattern, the import of improved weapons being discouraged by the Egyptian custom-house.

The frequent sight of churches and monasteries alone reminds the traveller that he is among a people redeemed from utter barbarism by the Christian tradition. The Church,* though corrupted by centuries of schismatic isolation, is still the most civilizing influence here, and travellers who, like Gordon Pasha on his journey through Abyssinia, wake at dead of night to hear

* See the DUBLIN REVIEW, September, 1844, "The Christians of Abyssinia," and February, 1862, "D'Abbadie's Ethiopic Literature," for details of ecclesiastical institutions, literature, and traditions.

the Psalms of David chanted by the monks, cannot fail to be touched, as he was, by such long fidelity in faith even in the midst of error.

The mateb, a blue silk cord worn round the neck by all Abyssinians as a token of Christianity, is cherished by them as a mark of nationality as well as of religion. The political power of the priesthood is considerable, but their moral influence seems small. The religious services are few, and even those scantily attended. None are held on ordinary days, and a solitary Mass on Sunday, for whose celebration the attendance of several priests is required, represents the entire public devotions of the week.

The churches are circular, and divided into three concentric spaces, an outer gallery reserved for the laity, a second circuit for the clergy, and a square enclosure or inner sanctuary containing the tabôt, a block of wood figurative of the Ark of the Covenant. This object is regarded with such superstitious veneration, that no church can be consecrated or Mass celebrated save in its presence. On the Feast of the Epiphany it is borne in procession to the nearest lake or pond, sprinkled with water, and solemnly returned to its place, a rite which recalls some of the ancient pagan ceremonies, while the name of the ark is identical with the Arab *Tabut* applied to similar movable shrines.

On the same day of the year was annually repeated, at the time of Father Alvarez' visit, the baptism by immersion of the king, court, and numbers of the people. A simple bath seems now to have superseded the religious ceremony, and this anniversary is the only one on which the Ethiopian skin comes in contact with water.

The Abyssinian Church is a dependency of that of Alexandria, and follows it in adherence to the Eutychian heresy. There are, however, several sects of dissenters, one of which, called the *sost ledel*, has so subtilized the original Monophysite doctrine as to be, on this head of belief, nearly in accord with the faith of Rome. This movement, which would tend towards a healing of the schism, has been sternly repressed by the present ruler, and its adherents, including many religious communities, have conformed externally to the royal standard of orthodoxy.

The head of the Abyssinian hierarchy, styled the Abouna, Metropolitan, or Catholicos of Ethiopia, is, in conformity with a very early ordinance, invariably a foreigner; a circumstance which has doubtless preserved the local Church from total corruption. Through this dignitary, consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria, the channel of ordination is alone kept up, and the consent of the Egyptian Government to the despatch of an Abouna, purchased always by a sum of money, is constant matter of negotiation between the countries. The Abouna is

consequently jealously guarded, lest he should weary of his exile, and is in fact treated like a State prisoner.

The clergy are very numerous and extremely ignorant, ordination being almost indiscriminately conferred. Their distinctive mark is a large turban, more suggestive of Mussulman than Christian sanctity. Many of the monasteries are situated on the precipice-walled platforms of the ambas, accessible only by ladders or paths that might deter a chamois-hunter. The summit supplies water, with sufficient land for cultivation, and here the monks live and die without ever revisiting the world below. There are also numerous communities of nuns, but composed entirely of elderly women, who only renounce the world after having played their part in it.

The exterior of the Abyssinian churches is unpretending, and with their circular walls and thatched conical roofs they would be scarcely distinguishable from the ordinary dwellings of the country, save for the cross surmounting them. They are generally surrounded by a wood, and provided with a curious substitute for a bell, in a large slab of rough-hewn stone suspended to a horizontally extended rope, and struck with another stone by way of hammer.

There are, however, a curious class of exceptions to the prevailing simplicity of structure, in a considerable number—it is said 200—very ancient rock churches hewn out of the mountain sides. A group of these monolith temples, ten in number, at Lalibela in Eastern Abyssinia, has been visited and described by M. Achille Raffray, alone, we believe, of modern Europeans. These buildings are distinct from cave structures, each forming a separated block, isolated from the mass of the mountain by a deep trench forming an open court or gallery round it.

Legend ascribes their construction to Lalibela, the fifth Christian Negus, who reigned somewhere in the fifth century. An architect called Sidi Meskal brought with him 500 workmen from Alexandria, and is reported to have completed in twenty-four years the monumental task. The style of architecture is simple and majestic, and ogive and horse-shoe curves are seen in combination with the plain round arch, while the coloured ornamentation is of a geometrical pattern. Indestructible as the rock from which they are carved, these architectural sculptures are still in perfect preservation, for though buried and filled up with rubbish during the invasion of Mohammed Gragn, they were disinterred and restored on the expulsion of his followers.

Axum, the holy city of Ethiopia, has a cathedral of stone, built under the auspices of the Portuguese. Tradition is ripe about the spot, for here, as it avers, a church was reared by St. Joseph, with the help of angels, in acknowledgment of the safe

residence of the Holy Family in Ethiopia, a legendary addition to the Flight into Egypt. Here, too, are enshrined, according to current belief, the most venerable relics in the world—the Ark of the Covenant and Golden Cherubim, brought by Menelik from the Temple of Jerusalem. The secret of their hiding-place, in a chamber in the thickness of the wall, is known only to the existing Nebrei, or high priest of the shrine, on whose death it is transmitted to his successor by means of a written document always carried about his person.

However fantastic the Ethiopic legend of the genealogy of the royal house, it embodies in mythical form the curious fact of a very large and early Jewish migration to Abyssinia. Thus only could have been introduced here so many practices and precepts of the Mosaic dispensation—the rite of circumcision, distinction between clean and unclean meats, triple division of the churches, and observance of the Sabbath in a Saturday as well as a Sunday day of rest, reminiscences of the Hebrew ritual which are adhered to with unalterable tenacity. Christians and Mohammedans in Abyssinia reject each the meat slaughtered by the other, obliging travellers, who have both creeds represented among their followers, to supply all animals for food in duplicate.

A large section of the Abyssinian population, called Falashas, from the Ethiopian word *falas*, an exile, are still professing Jews, though settled in their present abode from time immemorial. They have, however, adulterated the Hebrew worship with the addition of a female divinity, Sambat, the Queen of Heaven, to whom they offer meats and sacrifices, and who is generally identified with the Syrian Ashtaroth. The absence among them of any tradition of the Babylonian Captivity, or of either Talmud, seems an argument of the remoteness of their divergence from the parent stock. Abyssinian tradition regards them as descendants of a contingent of Menelik's followers, who, having refused to obey him by crossing a stream on the Sabbath, remained fixed in their original creed, while their comrades, accepting by anticipation the dispensation of the New Law, became the ancestors of the Christians of Ethiopia. The Jewish type is still traceable in the features of the Falashas, although their complexions have assumed the sable hue of the African races.

Of other creeds there is little to be said. The Galla tribes have adopted a nominal Mohammedanism, and in the central provinces there exist some communities of tree-worshippers, called Kamants, who probably perpetuate the primeval religion of the country.

The government of Abyssinia is a pure military despotism. The king lives in the field, ready to move his camp from his headquarters at Debra Tabor to any district showing signs of disaffec-

tion, while martial rule is similarly enforced by his vassals, the kings of Shoa and Gojam, and the viceroys, who govern the other provinces with the title of Ras, Arabic for head or chief. The next degree of authority, in this rough semblance of a feudal system, is exercised by the Dejatch, whose title, approximately translated by that of Duke, implies the command of a section of a column in the field, as well as the government of a district. The purely honorary title of Lidj, is like the French *de*, a hereditary prefix of nobility, while that of shoum is borne by a civil magistrate, with functions resembling those of a mayor or prefect.

Jurisprudence, embodied in an ancient code, partly founded on that of Justinian, and partly on Deuteronomy, is administered by the military chiefs, assisted by twelve so-called judges who represent the twelve Jewish elders or counsellors of Menelik. Their number and unofficial character, representing the popular element as a check on State authority in the administration of justice, recall the institution of the jury, and their function of advisers and assistants to the presiding judge seems to imply that the community at large is the depository of the traditional interpretation of the law. The parties in a case plead in person, arguing alternately with much flow of language and variety of gesture, the shamma being rolled and twisted in every conceivable fashion as an adjunct to oratorical effect. The king is the final arbiter of justice, and the last appeal in every case lies to his decision.

The death of Theodore closed one act of Abyssinian history; the coronation of the present king inaugurated another, of which the protracted duel with Egypt has been the principal interest. With the collapse of the power of the latter State in her southern provinces, the conflict has for the moment come to an end, but whether Abyssinia be capable of profiting to any extent of the opportunity thus offered her, still remains to be seen.

The withdrawal of the British expedition without establishing any permanent government in place of the one demolished, was witnessed with dismay by many of the natives, and one of them expressed in forcible language to Mr. Rassam his anticipation of the result. In reply to the remark of the latter, that the people must learn to govern themselves, he exclaimed, "You mean that we must cut each other's throats!" and this simple solution of the vexed problem of self-government seemed for a time the most probable one. Superiority in fortune or ability, however, enabled one of the aspirants to power eventually to triumph over his rivals, and gave Abyssinia, in her present ruler, a saviour of society.

Lidj Kassai, Prince of Tigré, a namesake but no relative of Theodore, seemed, with that monarch's name, to have inherited his

earlier fortunes. Like him, he passed his youth in a convent, and like him, exchanging the cloister for the camp, became a schefta, or captain of banditti. But as war and brigandage are in Abyssinia almost synonymous, the successful outlaw was quickly merged in the military chief. Having had the shrewdness to await, in an attitude of friendly neutrality, the upshot of the British campaign, and being rewarded by the victors with a present of four guns and a thousand stand of arms, he was placed at a considerable advantage over his competitors for power. It was not, however, till after a long and arduous struggle, extending over three years of constant fighting, that he attained to supreme authority; when, having succeeded in procuring an Abouna from Cairo, he was crowned in 1871, by the magniloquent titles of Johannis, King of Sion, Negoosa Negust (King of Kings), of Ethiopia and its dependencies. Even then the kingdom of Shoa, in the south, remained unconquered, while Bogós in the north, asserted its independence under its hereditary Prince Walad-el-Michael, or Wadenkal, son of Michael. This pretender, after being successfully combated and taken prisoner, was again released, to assist, as was hoped, in repelling the attack of a still more formidable claimant to his dominions.

One Werner Munzinger, a Swiss subject, was at that time (1874) Egyptian governor of Massowah, and being a man of restless and ambitious character, urged on the Khedive the annexation of the Abyssinian border provinces, Bogós and Hamasém. In an evil hour, Ismaïl, ever sanguine and impulsive, listened to his counsel, and organized an expedition. But while adopting his advice, he distrusted his co-operation, suspecting him of designs of personal aggrandizement, and Munzinger was detached in command of a small separate force to operate from the south in the direction of Shoa, while the main body of 2,500 Egyptian troops, commanded by a Danish officer, Colonel Arrendrup, marched from Massowah on Northern Abyssinia.

Both expeditions were equally unfortunate; Munzinger and his detachment were cut to pieces near Lake Aoussa, by the Danákil tribe, natives of the coast, while the bones of Colonel Arrendrup's force, with which was Arakel Bey, Nubar Pasha's nephew, are still bleaching by the banks of the Mareb, where they fell thick beneath the Abyssinian spears. Scarcely a man survived to tell the dismal tale of that disastrous day, or survived only in such plight as to make the fate of his comrades, mangled by the hyenas of Godda-Guddi, seem enviable to the living monument of the mercies of the Abyssinian or the Galla.

The lesson was a severe one, but it was lost on the Egyptian Government. A fresh force, some 20,000 strong, was collected and despatched to Massowah, with Ratib Pasha as com-

mander, and Loring Pasha, an American officer, as Chief of the Staff. The presence of Prince Hassan, the Khedive's younger son, was intended without doubt to give éclat to anticipated conquest.

Yet despondency prevailed in the Egyptian ranks, overshadowed by the tradition of the Prophet's curse on any Mussulman invading Abyssinia. The ruler of Ethiopia, so the legend runs, having sheltered eighty of Mohammed's followers from the persecution of the Koreish, was rewarded by this malediction on his future enemies; while, according to another prophecy, the Caaba, towards the end of the world, will be finally destroyed by Abyssinia, which is consequently grudged a sea-port as a step to the fulfilment of the prediction.

Amid such baleful auguries the Egyptian army set out on its ill-starred march, while a conflict of authority between the native and foreign elements on its staff was a worse omen for its success than any derived from ancient prophecy. Extraordinary difficulties beset its advance, from the nature of the ground traversed, and the guns were dragged over rock-ladders and staircases, where subsequent travellers find it difficult to realize their transit. The valley-plateau of Gura, amid the wildest gorges of Tigré, was at last reached, and here the march on Adowa, the capital of that province, was stayed, until the erection of two forts should have secured the rear of the expedition.

Meantime, though no enemy had been seen, King Johannis had not been idle. The drum beat to arms in the market-place of every hamlet and group of huts from the Rahad to the Mareb, and by scores of thousands the wild spearmen of the hills flocked to join the royal standard. Hungry for blood and hot with battle-fever came those fierce lean mountaineers of the tropics, for fanaticism inflamed their native ferocity, and bade them give quarter to no living enemy, and burial to no infidel dust.

In the invaders' camp the vicinity of this barbarous array was uneasily felt, and the king's mustered warriors, numbering 180,000, were said to stand aligned along seventy miles of mountain crest. Colonel Dye, historian and eyewitness of the campaign, puts his fighting strength at 50,000.

It was on the morning of March 7, 1876, that the low distant hum of swarming thousands, and the wavering movements of a cloud of dust behind the hills, warned the Egyptians that the battle was at hand. Little preparation had been made for it, but the infantry were ordered out at the last moment in a groping sort of way, to seek a position where the valley widened from a funnel-throated gorge. Men who saw the column march out, wondered afterwards to remember how quietly, though with

little show of martial enthusiasm, it went forth to its destruction.

For, in the words of Colonel Dye,

from the hills came down as one great avalanche, hewers of men (one may call them) with brandishing swords, and fusiliers by thousands with ready weapons of war. Each column was led by a Ras, bare of head and foot, bedecked in all the paraphernalia of barbaric warfare, mounted on a gaudily caparisoned horse, presenting a *tout ensemble* at once fantastic, wild, and fiend-like. Following the Ras at the head, and with each Dejatch and under chief throughout the column, were martial bands consisting principally of *nagariths* and *aimbelitas*. The former of these instruments is at once a tambour and a tambourine, having in its sound the volume of the drum and the clattering of cymbals, while the latter instrument has the range and flexibility of the trumpet and the shrillness of the clarionet; a mingling of deep, hurried, and ominous tones, hiding both past and future, and arousing their barbarous souls to fury and combat.

Under the impact of this mass of impassioned humanity, the Egyptian infantry wavered, began to give ground, and finally retreated, but still preserved the cohesion of its ranks, until it reached the throat of the pass, where men and animals, pursuers and pursued, became wedged together in a struggling mass. In this slaughter-pen the annihilation of the Egyptian column was but the work of a few seconds; the hideous, horrible, blood-carnival raged and roared into silence, and the battle-fury of the assailants was soon slaked, since nothing living remained to gratify it.

Meantime the remnant of the expedition was safe behind its intrenchments, and the enemy, disorganized by his victory, was incapable of following it up. The king returned to his camp to find it plundered by his followers, who had counted on his defeat, and on the morrow half his force had melted away, the vain-glorious warriors having no doubt gone home to boast of their achievements among their friends. It was said that, fatigued by a long march, they had fought reluctantly, and that the king had compelled them to do so, sending round his messengers to cut open their water-skins, and tell them they must drink next at the enemy's wells. His diminished force was still further weakened by an unsuccessful assault on the forts, and after the cold-blooded massacre of his prisoners, he withdrew with the main body of his army. The campaign ended with the retreat of the Egyptian force to Massowah, the march thither degenerating into a stampede, in which many lives were lost.

King Johannis told Herr Rohlfs, the German envoy, that their escape was connived at, in consideration of a bribe by his general

Ras Bariu, a breach of trust for which he was deprived of his eyesight. In regard to this transaction as well as to other details of the battle, the king's narrative differs from those published by eye-witnesses on the Egyptian side.

All the enemy's camp-equipage, tents, treasure, 25 guns, and 10,000 Remingtons, fell into the hands of the victors, and English sovereigns, which they took for trumpery counters, were sold at the rate of thirty for four dollars. Nine thousand Egyptians are commonly said to have fallen, but Colonel Dye would reduce that estimate by one-half. He believes the Abyssinian loss to have been equally heavy, as their ranks were severely punished by the artillery before coming to close quarters. The unburied slain wreaked vengeance on their destroyers by breeding a fearful pestilence, which together with a famine, caused by a plague of locusts, is believed to have swept away two-thirds of the inhabitants of Tigré.

Prince Hassan, on reaching Cairo, told his father that he had no army, a dictum seemingly justified by recent events. The Khedive directed all his efforts to preventing news of the disaster from reaching Europe, and with such success that it was years before its scope and details were fully known there. His reverse, nevertheless, had not the effect of rendering Ismaïl pliant in regard to terms of peace. The Abyssinian envoys, sent to Cairo to treat, met with such courtesy that they had to invoke the protection of the foreign consuls, and had to return to their country after months of detention on their bootless errand.

Thus the breach remained unhealed; and a state of chronic warfare, carried on by licensed freebooters on both sides, subsisted all along the Abyssinian border. Walad-el-Michael, titular prince of the provinces annexed by Egypt, let loose, as it will be remembered, by King Johannis, to fight the armies of that State, had made common cause with them instead; and, supplied by them with arms and money, was long the firebrand of the frontier. From his mountain eyrie in that debateable land, he and his horde of banditti swooped on Abyssinian territory, while Ras Aloula, the frontier general of the latter State, made periodical plundering raids on the Bogós country—a process which that pleasant-witted officer euphemistically describes as “collecting taxes.”

These troubles confronted Gordon Pasha on the threshold of his Soudan administration in 1877; and of the many cares of his vast pro-consulate, by none was he more harassed than by the perpetually recurring outbreaks on the Abyssinian frontier. Walad-el-Michael, when bribed by him, as a step towards pacification, into temporary quiescence, was secretly supplied with men and arms by his own lieutenants and sub-governors, as an

incentive to fresh aggression. After alternately favouring Egypt and Abyssinia with his alliance, and being in the end thrown over by both, Wadenkal's eventful career was terminated, in 1879, by his capture by Johannis, and imprisonment for life on the summit of an amba, accessible only by an aerial voyage in a basket.

On Mohammed Tewfik's accession in the same year, Gordon was formally accredited by him to the King of Abyssinia to announce the fact, and settle the outstanding quarrel between the countries. His instructions, conveyed in these vague terms, "Il y a sur la frontière d'Abyssinie des disputes, je vous charge de les arranger," empowered him to make no substantial concessions, and his mission was foredoomed to failure.

It began with an insidious attempt on the part of the King and his lieutenant Ras Aloula, to detach him from the interests of his master by appealing to his personal sympathies as an Englishman and a Christian; to which the single-hearted envoy replied, that while there he must be regarded simply as the Khedive's deputy, and a Mussulman for the time being. The story that he asserted his independence by dragging his chair to the same level as the monarch's, he has himself contradicted, saying that such conduct would have been both rude and foolish. Yet the frank, soldierly bearing of the Englishman evidently irritated the surly king, whose jealous self-love was wounded moreover by the popularity which the munificence of the satrap of the Soudan acquired for him, in contrast with his own penuriousness. He even threatened his visitor's life, but was much taken aback by the latter's reply, that he would confer a great boon on him by ridding him of its troubles.

The Abyssinian demands were extravagant. Johannis asserted a claim to Dongola, Berber, Nubia, and Sennaar, but graciously consented to waive it in consideration of the retrocession of the frontier districts of Bogós, Metemmeh, and Changallas, the cession of two ports, Zeila and Amphilla, the despatch of an Abouna, and an indemnity of from one to two millions sterling. Negotiation on this basis was impossible, and Gordon was rudely dismissed, but succeeded, as he believed, in extorting from the king a letter, in which he formulated his demands in writing. The missive, however, contained nothing but an insulting challenge to the Egyptian Government, couched in the usual elegant phraseology of Abyssinian official correspondence, and Gordon having opened it, which as the Khedive's vakil he was entitled to do, let the king know he was acquainted with its contents, and aware of the bad faith with which he had been treated.

The premature detection of his trick incensed his Ethiopian

Majesty to the utmost, but he allowed the envoy to proceed on his return journey as far as Char Amba, the last point on the confines of the Soudan, on the north-western boundary of Abyssinia. While awaiting there a military escort of Soudanese troops to enable him to pass the brigand border-country in safety, Gordon was suddenly surrounded by a large Abyssinian force, arrested by royal mandate, and peremptorily ordered back to the coast. A march of terrible hardship ensued, and by breakneck precipices, over snow-covered mountains, and without tents in the depth of winter, the party re-traversed the whole breadth of Abyssinia. Bullied by the soldiers, mobbed by the people, plundered by the officials, it was only by the expenditure of £1,400 in bribery, that Gordon was at last permitted to reach Massowah, where the welcome sight of a British gunboat gave him the first visible assurance of safety and protection.

I do not write the details of my miseries [he says to his correspondent], they are over, thank God, and though the King of Kings (Johannis, King of the Kings of Ethiopia) has made me uncomfortable, I have made him uncomfortable too. Sleeping with an Abyssinian at the foot, and one on each side of you, is not comfortable, and so I passed my last night in Abyssinia.

Gordon, nevertheless, whose only prejudices are in favour of his personal enemies, on his return to England wrote to the *Times* an eloquent appeal for sympathy for Abyssinia, as a Christian country which had kept the torch of faith alight, however dimly, during so many centuries of isolation.

The breach between Egypt and her neighbour remained unhealed, until Admiral Sir William Hewitt, despatched by the British Government, succeeded in negotiating a treaty, signed at Adowa on June 3, 1884. Its main provisions are the restitution of the Bogós territory, free transit of goods to Abyssinia through Massowah, and facilities for the appointment of an Abouna; while the Negoosa engages to co-operate in the withdrawal through his dominions of the besieged Egyptian garrisons of Kássala, Amedeb, and Sanheit. A separate treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade was concluded with Great Britain, and an interchange of presents and compliments took place between Her Majesty and the ruler of Ethiopia, whose envoys were received by her at Osborne, on August 20, 1884.

The English mission, these tokens of amity notwithstanding, was treated with scant courtesy in Abyssinia. The natives, elated by their victories over the Egyptians, are arrogantly hostile to all foreigners, as appears from their demeanour to Admiral Hewitt's party. The correspondent of the *Daily News* who accompanied it, narrates how two officers, arrested in Adowa for attempting

to buy provisions in the market, were kept in the full blaze of the sun for two hours ; and how their captors replied to remonstrances on this head, saying, "It would be better if the sun killed them, for the skin of these pink devils is only fit to cover the scabbards of our swords," adding the further complimentary speech, "Those with the green eyes have nothing to be proud of, for we speared such men at Gura."*

Neither have the first results of the treaty been very encouraging. Ras Aloula, the Abyssinian governor of Tigré, immediately began to assert his master's restored sovereignty in Bogós by the plunder of its inhabitants, while from Massowah itself the panic-stricken citizens fled from his approach, as he led a successful cattle-foray to their very gates. In the Soudan province of Taka, meanwhile, where the towns of Kássala, Kedárif, and Gallabát had held out stoutly for the Khedive, the rumoured advance of King Johannis has had anything but a reassuring effect, and it would seem that the inhabitants prefer surrender to the Mahdi to deliverance by the Abyssinians. Nor is anything to be hoped from the Negoosa's co-operation against the insurgent Arabs, for his army, formidable in numbers, is without military cohesion, and his mountain-bred troops cannot live or fight in the plains. Justice to Abyssinia is a virtue, which it seems must be its own and only reward.

King Johannis, while thus successful in rectifying his northern frontier, has displayed no less sagacity in extending his empire to the south. There, Menelik, King of Shoa, who had maintained a semi-hostile attitude during the Egyptian campaign, was finally subjugated in 1878, and made due submission in the received Abyssinian style, by approaching his conqueror with a stone on his neck. The latter, with a touch of kingly generosity, stepped from his dais to meet his defeated rival, embraced him with tears, and crowned him anew with the royal diadem from his own brows ; while the heir of the House of Solomon, not to be outdone in magnanimity, offered a double tribute of beeves and fatlings.

This dramatic reconciliation was unfortunately effected at the expense of the Catholic missionaries, previously received with favour by the King of Shoa, and successfully established in the adjacent Galla countries. Their patriarch was Mgr. Guglielmo Massaja, a Capuchin monk of Piedmontese birth, during thirty-three years of wanderings and persecutions, the indefatigable apostle of those savage tribes. The autobiography, which by the desire of the Holy Father he is now engaged in compiling, will be a romance of charity, for seldom has more adventure been crowded into a single life.

Exile and imprisonment, the exceptional trials of others, were with him the normal experiences of the apostolate, and their barest record is a panegyric. Banished in 1847 from one province of Abyssinia, he two years later purchased his release from prison in another by the payment of £600, and in the same year was again arrested and again enlarged. Wandering in disguise through Western Ethiopia in 1852, and recognized as a Christian by the Arabs while selling his wares in the habit of an itinerant dealer in the market-place of Dunkour, he was savagely attacked, and only saved from death by the soldiers of Prince Kassai, afterwards King Theodore. A fresh imprisonment a little later was terminated by a fresh ransom, and the interior of a dungeon at Kaffa, in August, 1861, was exchanged for a second term of banishment. Arraigned as a magician by the Mussulmans of Amhara, in November of the same year, he was once more incarcerated by the King, and once more banished on his liberation. Next accused of treasonable practices by an apostate Christian, he suffered fifteen days' durance before he could establish his innocence. Robbed and seized by Theodore's soldiers on the western border of Abyssinia on June 27, 1863, he pleaded his cause so successfully before the King that he ordered his immediate release.

A romantic episode in the life of another comes to light among the dramatic incidents of his career. Some thirty years since a young Egyptian, a Catholic, and pupil of the Propaganda in Rome, chanced to be left behind by his boat on the Nile, while on the return journey to his home in Tantah. A Coptic priest decoyed him into the desert, and carried him a prisoner to the monastery of St. Anthony, within whose fortress-like walls he remained immured for eight years, a Catholic at heart, though numbered among the community. During his detention there arrived at the convent, seeking shelter and hospitality, a pedlar, dealing in small cutlery, who passed three months under the roof, treated as a beggar by its inmates. To the young Egyptian alone was the itinerant—bearded, bronzed, and poorly clad—known as Mgr. Massaja, Vicar-Apostolic of the Gallas, flying from a persecution in that country. His counsel and conversation were of great assistance to the captive, whose eventual escape was due to his being selected for an Abyssinian bishopric. On his way through Cairo, when passing the residence of the Catholic bishop, he eluded the two monks who accompanied him, and took refuge there. He is now the Abouna Boutros, or parish priest, of the Catholic Copts of Mansourah.*

The Galla missions in 1878 numbered seven churches and

* *Les Missions Catholiques*, May 9, 1884. "Voyage dans le Desert de les Basse Thebaïde." R. P. Jullien.

many Christian communities. The schismatic King of Shoa was the friend and patron of the priests, and his regard for Mgr. Massaja led him to retain him in his own dominions, where his influence secured a favourable reception for European travellers. But Menelik's submission to Abyssinia entailed the sacrifice of his predilections in this respect, as Johannis was resolved on the religious as well as political unification of his empire. Hence, the first proof he demanded of the renewed loyalty of his recreant vassal was the dismissal of the foreign priests, who, three in number—Mgr. Massaja, his coadjutor, Mgr. Taurin Cahagne, and Father Louis Gonzaga—were summoned to the royal camp early in 1878.

Compelled to await the Negoosa's pleasure or caprice as to receiving them, they accompanied from day to day the march of the combined armies of Shoa and Abyssinia, and were the unwilling witnesses of their depredations. The vast multitude of 180,000 souls, of whom a full third were women and children, subsisting on rapine and pillage, carried devastation on their track, and left famine in their rear. The hearts of the missionaries ached for the sufferings of the peasantry, compelled to beg a pittance from those who had robbed them of all they possessed, wasting even more than they consumed. The Abyssinian soldier, a picturesque figure, with lance and shield, fringed goat-skin flung over his bronzed shoulder, and metal bracelet on his sinewy arm, is indeed but a licensed brigand, equally formidable in peace and war.

The royal audience, when granted, was not of a very reassuring character. The King received the missionaries with his face muffled in his drapery, and did not permit them to approach nearer than the door of the apartment. Nor when Mgr. Massaja, so venerable in years, in aspect, and in character, had finished his plea for permission to remain in the country, did the sour fanatic vouchsafe a word of reply, but contented himself with an imperious gesture of dismissal.

Yet the Catholic priests had after all less ground for complaint than the *sost ledel*, or schismatics among his own subjects, against whom he was waging at the same time an active persecution. Having invited the leaders of this sect to hold a formal dispute with their adversaries in his presence, he had their tongues cut out at its close, effectually silencing arguments which had proved unanswerable, while universal conformity to the State religion was established under pain of death.

Menelik meantime had been bidden take his choice between war and the banishment of the foreign priests, but by diplomatic temporization staved off for a year the execution of the decree. In announcing it at last to Mgr. Massaja, he strove to soften its

import by feigning that the missionaries were to be despatched to Europe in the character of envoys from the king, a pretence too hollow to deceive them.

Ordered in the first instance to the royal head-quarters at Debra Tabor, Mgr. Massaja and his two travelling companions of the previous year with some young native disciples, were compelled to make the toilsome journey of nearly a month during the rainy season in July, when the valleys were hotbeds of fever. Reaching Debra Tabor on the 5th of August, 1879, they had to undergo two months' detention in wretched quarters, and under close guard, until the cessation of the rains rendered their farther journey possible. The King's gracious adieu to them in an interview conducted as before, was couched in the single phrase, "Go to your country."

But while the easier and direct way thither would have lain eastward through Tigré to Massowah, they were by a refinement of cruelty compelled to take the circuitous route westward into the interior of the Soudan, at the very time of year when that country is most unhealthy.

The frontier governor here was Ras Arya, the King's uncle, who replied to the missionaries' renewed remonstrances on the dangers of the route both from fevers and brigands, that he would guarantee them safety from brigands, while he hoped Providence would give them immunity from fevers. He kept his word by providing an escort which conducted them in safety across the border, and once in Egyptian territory the courtesy and hospitality of authorities and residents did much to alleviate the hardships of the remaining journey to the coast. Nothing, however, could avert the effects of the malarious poison they had been subjected to, several of their young companions died on the road, and Mgr. Massaja reached Europe in shattered health, incapacitated from farther apostolic labours. The patriarch of missionary bishops, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the thirty-ninth of his episcopate, has recently been raised to the Roman purple, and received the intimation of his new dignity on the August 7, 1884, at Frascati, where a tiny cell in the Capuchin convent is his haven of rest after a life of such toil and travel. His successor, Mgr. Taurin Cahagne, has returned to his mission in the Gallas country by a more southerly route from Tadjourah Bay, avoiding Abyssinian territory.

The flourishing mission of the French Lazarist Fathers at Senheit, the capital of Bogós, will doubtless be utterly annihilated as the result of the retrocession of that province under the treaty of Adowa. Seventy or eighty boarders and 500 out-door pupils here attended the schools, while whole villages had embraced

Catholicity *en masse*. All must now emigrate or apostatize, and barbarism will usurp the place of this nucleus of civilization.

The intolerance of Johannis is not confined to Catholic teaching, and in 1850 he published a decree of banishment against all Mohammedans, with the result of almost universal conformity on their parts, by the acceptance of baptism as a formality.

While the extension of Abyssinian rule is thus fatal to religious freedom, it is in no sense a gain to humanity or civilization. "The king," Gordon says, "is hated more than Theodore was. Cruel to a degree, he does not, however, take life. He cuts off the feet and hands of those who offend him. He puts out their eyes by pouring hot tallow into their ears." With a ferocity resembling incipient madness, he punishes smoking and snuff-taking respectively by amputation of the lips and noses of those who indulge in them. The cruelty of the Abyssinians to the Egyptian prisoners is notorious, and the authority just quoted tells how a batch of 2,000, being unable to march after three days' deprivation of food, were compelled to lie on the rocks to be fired at as targets by the captors.

With such memories fresh in their minds, the subjects of the Khedive may well regard their transference to the rule of the Negoosa with abhorrence. The worst Egyptian pasha is less inhuman, and not more rapacious, than a Ras of Ethiopia, while, as a guardian of peace and order, even the Bashi-Bazouk is preferable to the Galla. It need not then be matter of surprise if the Arabs of the Soudan prefer to follow the fortunes of the Mahdi, their compatriot and co-religionist, rather than pass under the hated and dreaded alien yoke of Abyssinia.

E. M. CLERKE.

ART. V.—THE VICISSITUDES OF "VIGIL."

STANGE and varied are the associations which cling to certain words. The bare mention of them conjures up a whole history of the past, and that history is often made up of events as romantic as any that cluster round the memory of the most famous knight-errant. The deeds of an Alexander or Cæsar sink to the level of mere commonplace in comparison with the startling events interwoven with the fortunes of some words. For they are mixed up with exploits not solely of particular times and individuals, but of successive heroes and ages, and enter largely into the history of the Pagan as well as the Christian world; and of such is the old word "Vigil."

Any one having the merest rudimentary knowledge of the

Latin tongue need not be told that vigil means simply a watch or guard, without reference either to the goodness or to the badness of the object, or to the time of the watch. During Pagan ages vigil denoted as well the celebration of religious rites in honour of false gods as the treacherous surprise of an enemy. Even in our day the word is employed to express quite opposite ideas. It has been associated as well with places "where heavenly pensive contemplation dwells," as with those scenes which made an illustrious poet sing, that an opportunity will always be found for wreaking vengeance through the

vigil long
Of him who treasures up a wrong.

Though the vigil was very often observed by night, and very naturally, still there is nothing in the original meaning or derivation of the word to exclude a watch by day. If, on the one hand, the eyes of the Psalmist anticipated the watches,* if the spouse in the Canticles was found by the watchmen,† if our Saviour walked on the sea towards His disciples during the watch of the night;‡ so, on the other hand, the same Psalmist is represented as watching from early light,§ and our Redeemer tells us to watch and pray,|| for we know not the time of judgment. And in another passage He exhorts to watch and pray at all times.¶

In sacred as well as profane authors there has been frequent mention not only of nightly but daily vigils. The vigil is suggestive of the marches and adventures of the Imperial legionaries of Rome as they proceeded from the Capitol by the Flaminian way on the old Roman road through Etruria, on to Milan, over the maritime Alps, through Lyons, to Rheims, across to Sandwich, to London, and onward till they reached the wall of Antoninus. Every sod of ground within the vast empire on which a Roman soldier encamped is suggestive of the vigil. At the very mention of the word do we not in spirit see the pioneers clear away the ground for an encampment, dig the fosse and deep moat, and fix the strong stakes on the ramparts? Does not the vigil conjure up visions of the auxiliaries posted in front, of the squadrons covering the flanks, of the military engines in the rear, and the heavy-armed infantry forming in the centre? At the bare sound of vigil do we not hear in fancy the crashing of the palisades before the incursion of the enemy, the clarion sound the alarm, the barbarian arrows rattle on the embossed shields of the Roman soldiers, while the missiles from the military engines are heard

* Ps. lxxvi. 5.

§ Ps. lxii. 2.

† Cant. iii. 3.

|| Mark xiii. 33.

‡ Mat. xiv. 25

¶ Luke xxi. 36.

whizzing in the direction of the barbarians? Through the entire extent of the Roman Empire during many long ages the vigils by day and by night entered into the actions of daily existence.

Turning to another nation in comparison to whose antiquity the Roman Empire was only of yesterday, we find that the vigil played a most conspicuous part. It prevailed among the Jews, for sacred as well as profane purposes. The vigils are closely bound up with the history of the famous tabernacle of the Lord; and so strongly were they enjoined, that a disregard of them entailed the penalty of death.* The vigils kept on the mountain-top by shepherds, as well as those in cities, both ensured the peace of the inhabitants and regulated the hours of the night. They meet us at every turn of the long and eventful history of the people of God, from the morning vigil on which the Egyptian host was swallowed in the deep,† till the angelic hymn was heard over Bethlehem by the shepherds keeping the night watches.

2. Here we may notice the second meaning attached to vigil. It meant not only a watch, but the time during which the watch lasted. In the early history of the Jews, before the Babylonish captivity, the night had been divided into three parts. The first vigil,‡ which embraced the time between sunset and midnight, was called the beginning of the watch; the second vigil, or midnight watch,§ lasted till cock-crowing, or about three o'clock A.M.; and the third vigil, or morning watch,|| from cock-crowing till sunrise. But at the time of our Redeemer, and for a considerable time previously, the night was divided by the Jews, as by the Romans, into four vigils. To these our Redeemer alludes when he tells His disciples to watch,¶ for they knew not when the Master would come, whether *late*, or at midnight, or at cock-crow, or in the morning. This *lateness* in the evening, which commenced at sunset, was called the first watch, or *evening*.** The watches at midnight and cock-crow, are called respectively the second and third vigils by St. Luke,†† and the morning watch spoken of by our Saviour, is called the fourth vigil by St. Matthew.†† Each vigil or watch consisted of three hours, while the whole night was divided into twelve hours or parts. These were equal among themselves, but varied according to the seasons of the year. They were longer in winter, and shorter in summer. But short or long, each vigil comprised three hours.

The division of the night into four vigils, consisting each of three hours, is naturally connected with the division of the day. Our solar or civil day, consisting of night and day, and made up

* Lev. viii. 35.

† Exod. xxiv. 25.

‡ Lamen. i. 19.

§ Jud. vii. 19.

|| Exod. xiv. 24.

¶ Mark xiii. 35.

** Mark xxv. 6.

†† Luke xii. 38.

†† Mat. xiv. 25

of twenty-four hours, is supposed to have begun at evening; for we read that the evening and morning were one day.* On that account the Jews began their day at sunset, or the first vigil. The first vigil commencing, say at the equinoxes, at six o'clock, had also the name of "conticinium," expressive of, perhaps, the quiet silence into which the busy hum of business was hushed; the second vigil, called "intempestum," the unseasonable or dead hour of night, continued from nine o'clock till twelve o'clock; the third vigil, called also "gallicinium" or cock-crow, lasted from midnight till three o'clock; and the fourth vigil, called also "antelucanum," or before the day-spring, lasted from three o'clock till sunrise.

Now the division of the Jewish night begun and terminated by the hours, say for average purposes, of six o'clock in the evening and six o'clock on the following morning, facilitated the distribution of the day into corresponding portions. The close of the fourth or last nightly watch was the beginning of the twelve hours of day, while the end of that day was defined by the first hour of the first watch of the night, namely, six o'clock in the evening. Now that the limits of the day were defined by the fixed beginning and end of the night, in order to have the day divided, not only into twelve hours, but even into four parts consisting each of three hours, corresponding to the vigils of the night, there was need only of marking off a division of the day at the third hour, nine o'clock A.M., at the sixth hour, twelve o'clock, and at the ninth hour, or three o'clock P.M. The first division or watch of the day, beginning at six o'clock, would correspond with the first vigil of the night at six o'clock P.M.; while the second division, beginning at the third hour of the day, corresponded with the second nightly vigil, or nine o'clock. The third division, beginning at midday, or the sixth hour of the day, corresponded with the third nightly vigil, which began at midnight; while the fourth division or watch of the day, beginning at the ninth hour, or three o'clock, corresponded with the fourth vigil of the night, which began at three o'clock A.M.

The remarks of St. Jerome, in his commentary on the fourteenth chapter of St. Matthew, are very much to our purpose. Speaking of our Divine Lord's appearance on the waters to His disciples, during the fourth vigil of the night, he says: "On the fourth watch of the night, He came walking on the sea. Military stations and vigils were partitioned off, each into the space of three hours. When, then, the Evangelist says that the Lord came to them during the fourth watch of the night, he points out how they were in danger all the night long,

* Gen. i. 5.

and how our Lord will give aid to them at the end of the night and to the consummation of the world."

In this passage we observe that the division of the night into four hours or vigils was a military idea; and as we know that the Romans observed a military station or vigil by day as well as night, we are to infer a like division of the day for civil and every-day life. Furthermore, the saintly and learned commentator remarked that the vigil or watch represented not merely its first hour, but its last one also—*extremo noctis*. So too the third division, for instance, of the day should mean not only its last, but even its first hour, which began at twelve o'clock.

I have dwelt the more on this matter as bearing on the apparent discrepancy between the evangelists St. John and St. Mark in reference to the hour of our Saviour's crucifixion. Thus the sixth hour of St. John, counting from sunrise, corresponds with St. Mark's third hour or watch; just as the sixth hour of night corresponded with the beginning of the third night-vigil. Of course the opponents of this method of harmonizing the Gospels may deny there was a division of the day into three or four portions corresponding with those of the night. But Varro assures us that the *prætor* had, by sound of trumpet, the third and sixth and ninth hours of the day publicly proclaimed.* Even for a long time after Varro, Tertullian spoke of these hours as something more than the twelfth part of the day. He says that these hours partitioned off the day.† He calls them the "distinguished or remarkable hours," and observes that the public crier proclaimed their advent. He winds up by saying that at the sixth hour, using the word in the ordinary sense, darkness came on the earth at our Saviour's crucifixion.

To see the full force of Tertullian's argument, we should bear in mind that the carnal men objected to the "stations" and fasts being prolonged beyond three o'clock, or ninth hour, to evening. They grounded their objections on the example of St. Peter, who ascended to the temple at that hour. But Tertullian replies by asking, what reason was there for supposing, even though St. Peter went at the ninth hour to the temple, that that hour limited the time for prayer, or did not include the next three hours to evening? And in favour of this view, he appeals to the examples of Moses, Saul, and Joshua, who continued their miraculous prayers till evening.

The division of the day into four parts, each consisting of three hours, is brought out clearly by Prudentius. In one of his

* "De Jejuniis."

† "Tres istas horas et insigniores in rebus humanis quæ diem distribuunt, quæ negotia distinguunt, quæ publice resonant."

beautiful hymns he says,* "Now the sun declines, we offer our prayers, and receive the Eucharist. It is None; three parts of the day are gone, and a fourth remains; we break off our festival and go to our common food."

The principal objectors to the division of the day, as the night, into four parts, are those who endeavour to harmonize the Gospels by saying that, while St. Mark counted the hours according to the Jewish method, St. John fell in with the Roman computation of the hours, not from sunrise, but from midnight; so that St. John's sixth hour would be six o'clock A.M. But this theory derives no support from Scripture or facts, and is opposed to the very best authority. No one could be more competent to speak for the Jewish practice than Josephus, and his authority should be decisive on the matter. He was coeval with the last of the Evangelists. Like St. John, he died at the end of the first Christian century, and wrote his "Antiquities" in the same decade.† In the fourteenth book of his "Antiquities," alluding to the piety and love of religious observance among the Jews, he states that the war and siege of Jerusalem did not prevent the priests from ministering in the temple, twice a day, in the morning and evening about the ninth hour. Here the ninth hour must mean three o'clock. The ninth hour must have been counted not from midnight but sunrise, according to the immemorial custom of the Jews. It may be observed that in the earlier history of the Jews sunset and sunrise were the hours for the morning and evening sacrifice.‡ Now, if Josephus, who states in the preface to his book that he wrote for the benefit of the Greeks and Romans, still adhered to the old Jewish computation of hours, we have no reason for supposing that St. John Evangelist adopted a different computation of the day. We cannot suppose any necessity for doing so on the part of St. John. In the passage alluded to, Josephus quotes Strabo and Titus Livy, and therefore must have been thoroughly acquainted with the Roman system of reckoning the day; and therefore it is scarcely possible to suppose that the Roman was different from the Jewish method of computation. Again, in the preface to his "Autobiography," speaking of the faction that raged during the siege of Jerusalem, he says that the multitude would have gone into a tumult unless

* "Nona submissum solem rotat hora
Partibus vixdum tribus evolutis.
Quarta devexo superest in axe
Portio lucis."—*Cathemerinon*, H. 8.

† Josephus wrote his "Antiquities" in Greek, as he says, for the Greeks and Romans in the year 93. He lived in Rome.

‡ *Ibid.* B. 3, chap. viii. sec. 3. I quote from Whiston's translation.

the sixth hour, which was now come, had dissolved the assembly, at which hour their laws required them to go to dinner on Sabbath days.* Now we know that the Jews dined at midday, and from this, as for other reasons, the sixth hour could not be reckoned from midnight, or be said by any means to correspond to the six o'clock A.M. Besides, in the very next sentence Josephus tells us that, when informed of the tumult, he determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Acting on his determination, he proceeded to Tiberias about the first hour of day. Now the first hour must have been counted not from midnight but from sunrise, otherwise it should be said that it was by night he went there.

3. Different in duration from the Roman or Jewish vigils of four hours were the apostolic vigils. The quiet of night was deemed peculiarly suited to prayer and deep meditation. It is no disparagement to some Christian ideas that their wisdom and beauty, as being founded in the very nature of things, appear to have been anticipated in some respects by Pagan sages. Homer describes night as ambrosian; and Quintilian† observes that the activity of the mind in a wakeful mood was assisted by the darkness of the night. Pagan poets and philosophers vied with each other in singing the praises of night, or in descanting on its beauties.‡ But the fathers and faithful of the primitive Church need not have borrowed lessons from Pagan wisdom. Examples from the Old Testament were familiar to them. Familiar to them was the conduct of the Royal Prophet who was mindful of God's name during night; of Judith, who went out by night and prayed; of Samuel, who prayed the livelong night; and of our Divine Lord Himself, who spent whole nights in prayer. Christian writers most earnestly recommend the use of nightly vigils on their own merits. They insist that good as prayer and meditation are by day, they are still more efficacious by night; because, they observed, the various occupations and cares of the day distract the senses, and thus interfere with that calmness and attention secured by night.§ While some maintain that the nightly vigils in apostolic times were recommended by a sense of their natural advantages and examples in Holy Writ, others trace their origin to the persecutions under the Pagan Emperors. Christians not being allowed to meet by day for the purpose of celebrating the festival of Christ and His Saints, were driven to meet on the night preceding the festival. They met in the catacombs and at the graves of the martyrs. Their

* "Autobiog." p. 53.

† Lib. x. 6.

‡ Euripides, "Ion," 85, and Cicero "De Leg." lib. ii.

§ Nicetius, "De Vigiliis," apud D'Acherry "Spicilegium," tom. iii.

conduct did not escape the vigilance of the Pagan persecutors. Pliny informs the Emperor Trajan* that a Christian confessed to him that the only crime of the Christians consisted in meeting on stated days before dawn, and singing hymns to Christ as their God. The nightly meetings were so characteristic of the Christians, that the Pagans gave them the name of skulking light-shunners.† The nightly vigils of the early Christians, whether taking their rise from the Pagan persecutions or otherwise, continued for many centuries after the cessation of the persecution. The vigils were continued in some cathedrals and churches down to the close of the Middle Ages. The first prohibition by the Church against them regarded the vigils at the crypts or tombs of the martyrs. Abuses had crept in. Under the guise of religion, the vigils were used as a cloak for intemperance and other vices.‡ The nightly meetings, even in a church, were not free from abuses, and in the course of time even in these the vigils were discontinued.

However, I am not concerned about the origin, nature, or history of vigils. It is not within the scope of this paper to describe what filled up the nightly vigils—the prayer and meditation and genuflexions, the self-infliction, the sacred hymn, the prostration, and the sweet tears of penance. My province is not to follow the faithful in their hallowed vigils into the churches built on the lonely shore, in the busy mart, or into oratories and lauras of hermits. My purpose is not to deal with the matter, but the name, of the things—to glance at the several offices filled by vigil, without detailing the history of these employments.

The vigils of the early Christians sometimes extended over the whole night. Hence with the fathers of the Church they got the name of night-long sacred meetings.§ That they began in the evening is made manifest from a passage in the life of St. Athanasius. Socrates|| describes an escape which the saint on one occasion had from the Arians. He tells us it was evening, and that the people had assembled for the purpose of keeping the nightly vigil because of the following day being a festival. Soldiers had been stationed round the church. St. Athanasius,

* Lib. x. Ep. 97, "hanc fuisse summam culpæ suæ vel erroris quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenise, carmenque Christo quasi Deo, &c."

† "Latebrosos lucifugaces."—Minutius Felix.

‡ Concil. Eliber. can. 35: "Placuit prohibere ne feminæ in cæmeteriis pervigilent, eo quod subobtentu orationis latenter scelera committentur."

§ Chrysos, "Hom. IV. de verbis Isaiae et Hom. I": *βλέπε παννυχίδας ἵερα ἡμερα καὶ νυκτί συναφθέσας.*

|| Lib. a, cap. xi.

fearing a tumult or slaughter of the people, ordered the deacon to intone a psalm. During the singing of the psalm the soldiers did not venture to stir, and in the meantime the people left the church, and with them escaped St. Athanasius.* And St. Ambrose, speaking of vigils and defending their practice, says that our Divine Redeemer spent whole nights in prayer, not that He needed it, but to teach us to do for ourselves what He did for us.†

4. The vigils in the course of time came to signify something different from the night or nightly exercises. The faithful prepared themselves for the celebration of a festival by the observance of a fast on the previous day. After the discontinuance of the nightly stations a solemn fast with appropriate prayers constituted the vigil. The station so early as the time of Tertullian was synonymous with a fast,‡ and even in modern times, in ecclesiastical language, the vigil signified a fast.

Pius VI. took an opportunity of restoring partially the Advent fast in retrenching some holidays of obligation. While exempting the faithful from the obligation of Mass and cessation from servile work on the retrenched holidays, the Pope transferred the fasts attached to the festivals to the Advent. But as it is not so much for the fact as the language employed by his Holiness that I refer to the matter, I use his own words: "But as to the *vigils* attached to these festivals already retrenched, his Holiness has directed they be transferred to the fourth and sixth ferias on each week of Advent, on which the same fast is to be observed as should be in Lent and the days of Quartertime."§ Here we see that vigils are implied to be the same as fasts.

5. By-and-by, though the fasts were discontinued in many instances, as well as the nightly prayers, the time during which these religious observances prevailed got the name of vigil. And as the day of twenty-four hours has been reckoned for many centuries amongst us from midnight to midnight, and as the ecclesiastical fast covers that time, the vigil came to signify what it signifies at present with ourselves, the entire civil day counting from midnight to midnight. Hence at present we attach no other meaning to Christmas Eve, or rather St. John's Eve, than the day before these festivals. And perhaps I may observe that, as the fast remains attached to some few festivals, a relic of past discipline, so the Nocturns which used to be said three times during the night, as implied by the term, were a relic or substitute for the vigils properly so called.

* "Apol. de fuga."

† Serm. 19, in Psalm cxviii. 147.

‡ "De Anima," chap. x. 48.

§ "Ex audiencia SSmi." die 29 Martii, 1778.

6. Not only the full public offices of the Church, but even particular parts of them, got the name of vigil, and this happened without regard to the time at which they were gone through. Hence Matins and Lauds for the deceased faithful got the name of vigils for the dead. Hence too, I suppose, the Litanies and other prayers said by private individuals, as well as less holy practices which take place in presence of a corpse on the night previous to interment, got the name of wake or vigil.

7. A variety of meaning is shown in the derivatives of vigil, simple and compound. It is employed in the Irish language as a noun, verb, and adjective, and means "prayer," "to pray," and "prayerful." Its compound derivative, "crossfigill," is of frequent occurrence in Irish writings, and has been a puzzle to philologists. Though its component parts are plain enough, yet in composition they issue somehow like those elements that chemically result in something different from their physical nature. Notices of the cross, Latin, Greek, Swâstika, turn up in Irish records, and the inquiry arises as to what particular kind of cross is meant. Is there question of a certain form of prayer, or of merely a particular attitude of the body? Well, the word crossfigill has been employed to express a position of the hands raised and parted somewhat like the position of the hands of the priest raised during Mass.

8. But turning from the derivative of vigil to the word itself, there is none of its various and strange meanings so strange apparently, or that has played so prominent part in Irish mediæval literature, as *feil* (vigil) or festival. Accustomed as we have been for a long time to associate the vigil with the day previous to the festival, nay, to make them convertible terms, it will sound strange that the word could or did mean the festival itself. Yet such was the case. Vigil or *Feil* is the word employed in the Irish language to express festival; and so much did it become a part of the language even at an early period that in the eighth century it had a derivative in the word *felire*, a collection or calendar of festivals. This will not appear surprising if we bear in mind the original or etymological meaning of vigil. It came to be an expression for the time during which religious exercises prevailed; and as these prevailed on the festal day as well as the previous day, one day as well as the other could with some propriety be termed vigil or *feil*. For the present, however, I am concerned only with the fact.

Irish writers treating of feasts and their observances state that whenever a festival falls on a Saturday outside Lent, its vigil was taken off at nine or three o'clock; but if it fell on a Wednesday, or Friday, or Monday, its celebration was transferred to Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday following. The vigil was

kept on the festive day.* But though Saturday was opposed in character to the solemnization of a festival, still the vigil was discontinued at nine because of the genuflexions accompanying the vigils.

The rule of the Church, then as now, was that, in honour of our Saviour's resurrection, public prayers should be said in a standing posture from Vespers on Saturday till the evening of Sunday. Genuflexions were deemed inappropriate. But when the feast chanced to fall on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday, then the feast, rather than curtail the vigil as on Saturday, was altogether transferred to another day, because these three days, being fast days normally, were inconsistent with the suitable celebration of a festival. From all this I infer that the vigils were observed on a festival.

This is made still clearer by another passage. The law regulated that penitents should not be exempted from vigils, except after None, during the solemn festivals from Easter to Pentecost; so that the relaxation of vigils on festivals granted to others was denied to penitents. The exemption from genuflexion on Saturday evening and Sunday was extended to the Pentecostal time as having been considered one unbroken holiday.

Nor was the association of vigil with *daily* prayers, once on a time, confined to the British isles. Cassian, giving an account of the introduction of Matins and Lauds as distinct from the Nocturns, says that the practice began in Bethlehem in his own time. Soon it became very common through the Western Church. But the *daily* vigils previously formed a part of the nightly vigils.† That prayers or vigil were associated with the very festival will appear the less surprising if we consider that the image of vigil or station was borrowed from military life. The prayers were not to be said, as the word station would imply, in a standing posture. Vigil on the part of the sentry at the camp-fire or elsewhere was necessary to guard against surprise. The midday demon as well as the nightly fiend was to be guarded against by the soldiers of Christ. Hence the vigil of the Christians—hence the station; for, as Tertullian remarks, we are in a state of warfare.‡ In another place he institutes a comparison between the military and Christian station.§ He says that the faithful soldier never should forget the oath by which he is

* L. B., p. 11.

† Cassian, "Inst." lib. iii. ch. iv: "Usque ad illud tempus hac solemnitate matutina . . . cum quotidianis vigilis consummata."

‡ "De Oratione," xiv. : "Si statio de militari exemplo nomen accepit, nam et milites sumus."

§ "De Jejuniis," ix: "Secundum stationis vocabulum addicimus, nam et milites nunquam immemores sacramenti magis stationibus parent."

bound, though at the same time more obedience and watchfulness are exacted from him while engaged in camp-duty. So, too, as to the Christian, though at all times he should watch and pray, still there were times and stations for his special fervour, earnestness, and loyalty in the service of God.

If we bear in mind that, in celebrating the festivals of her heroically holy children, the Church had in view the spiritual rather than the corporal benefit of the faithful, the association of their celebration with vigils will excite no surprise. Hence we find, as a trace of primitive discipline, even so late as the year 1752, that canons in a provincial council at Tuam enacted* that the festival of St. Mark should be celebrated with a procession, and, unless it fell on Sunday, with abstinence and a fast till dinner; and this took place even though the festival coincided with that of SS. Philip and James.

In other languages the word *festival* is associated only in idea with *vigil*, just as a fast, though supposing a feast, is essentially different from it. But in the Irish language the *vigil* is not only associated but synonymous with *festival*; while in the Latin and its cognate languages, as also in English, "*vigil*" is an expression for a day previous to the feast. In the Irish it means the feast itself. This appears rather curious. How is it accounted for?

Many have fancied they saw a similarity in the Celtic temperament and language to the Greek rather than to the Roman type; and that it is characteristic of the genius of the Greek language to name things from some accidental rather than, unlike other languages, some essential quality inherent in them. It may appear that the Irish like the Greek genius has been readily struck, without looking things through and through, by some accidental or external quality in objects, and was thus influenced in its nomenclature. Still the question arises, does the strange meaning of *vigil* in the Irish happen from anything peculiar to the genius of the language? Or are we to seek for its explanation in harmony with well-established historical facts? To answer this it is desirable to determine the time when the vigils became identical with festival in the Irish language, and when were the vigils discontinued.

At the end of the fourth century among the errors broached by Vigilantius was one that regarded the nightly vigils. He inveighed against their abuse, and then passed on to deny their utility. The heresiarch was successfully combated by St. Jerome; and there is reason for believing that the attacks of the heresiarch had only the effect of making the vigils still dearer to the

* O'Renahan "Collections," 505.

Catholic heart. St. Jerome, playing on the name of *Vigilantius*, remarked that it was a misnomer, and that he should be called rather the sleeper. The applause with which the wit and argument of the saint were received by the Catholic world proved that the abuses of the vigils had not yet led to their discontinuance. Nay, even so late as the year 816, in a council held at Aix-la-Chapelle, under Lewis the Pious, the utility of the nightly vigils was maintained, whilst those who advocated the contrary were branded as heretics.* It is pretty certain, then, that vigils were common in the Christian commonwealth when St. Patrick came to Ireland, and that he introduced their practice there. This is the more likely as the word "vigil" is found in the oldest Irish manuscripts, and has been employed to designate a festival.

The religious exercises usually performed on the eve or night of a festival in other countries were transferred to the day previous. Even in Rome, the mother of Churches, and from which were borrowed by other Churches its name and use, the vigil was originally a nightly pious practice. Then by a figure of speech the time during which it continued got the name of vigil; and by a further violence to language the vigil, as an expression of time, was extended to the entire previous day. But the meaning attached by the Irish language to it will appear natural, if we consider that in that language the ecclesiastical rather than the civil division of the day was adopted. I admit that in Rome and throughout the Catholic Church the festivals were celebrated from Vespers to Vespers; but I am not speaking of the practice. I speak rather of the vernacular language. Whatever may have been the ecclesiastical division of the day in other countries, the vernacular was conversant only with the civil day. Not so in Ireland. That eminently Catholic spirit, which under favourable circumstances made the Irish nomenclature of the days of the week the most Christian in Europe, made the Irish vernacular conversant only with the ecclesiastical division of the day. The night of a festival in the Irish language meant, and means still, not as in other languages, the night following, but preceding the festival. Hence, for instance, Christmas means literally our English Christmas Eve. The night then, according to the ecclesiastical division, and as expressed in the vernacular language of the country, formed a part of the succeeding rather than the preceding day; and, consequently, the vigils and the other holy exercises performed during the night,

* "Con. Aquisgran." cap. cxxx.: "Est quoddam genus hæreticorum superflua existimantium vigilias et spirituali opere infructuosas . . . qui Græco sermone Nyctuzontes, hoc est somniculosi vocantur."

could be associated with more propriety in Ireland than in other countries with the festival itself. Moreover, we have the clearest evidence of the prevalence of vigils not only by night but by day in the Irish Church from its very first reception of Christianity. On the principle, then, by which the religious offices of the Church are named "Prime," "Tierce," "Sext," and "None," the hours at which respectively the offices were to begin, conversely the religious exercises of the vigil became an expression for the time during which they lasted. While then the Christian vigil, as originally understood, and as an expression for the time during which it lasted, lost its original meaning in the language of other countries, in the Irish language it has retained the same meaning as on its first adoption into the language. In most, if not all, of the languages in which the word "vigil" is used, it is only by a figure of speech or fiction that it can be said to signify the entire day previous to a festival. Not so in the Irish language. Here the day, whether considered as a civil or liturgical day, or named from the exercises practised on it, could with great propriety be called a vigil. Vigil then signifying a festival in the Irish language is in harmony with facts, testifies to a more Catholic past than the present, and though more strange, is more true and natural than making it an expression for the day previous to the festival; while the vicissitudes of vigil add one more proof to the correctness of the adage, "that truth is stranger than fiction."

SYLVESTER MALONE.

ART. VI.—THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND :

A REPLY.

WHY is not England Catholic? Why does the nation as a whole turn a deaf ear to the claims of the Church, remaining to all appearance as far from submission to the authority of the Pope, as if there had been no Romeward movement in the Established Church forty years ago? Why are the fruits of the conversion of Cardinal Newman and his distinguished disciples so poor? Why has the restoration of the hierarchy been so barren of results? These are questions that are seldom asked, and most Catholics and Protestants would agree in complaining that their form is somewhat misleading. Protestants are dismayed at the fact that "Rome's Recruits" may be reckoned by thousands, and that over and above the persons of position, whose names are paraded before the public by enterprising pamphlet-

writers, there are numbers of perverts to Popery annually made of whom the world hears little or nothing. Catholics, among whom the memories of past persecution have not been obliterated by present prosperity, rejoice over the unlooked-for successes of the Church, and marvel not at the fewness of conversions, but at their multitude; and they feel that their view is not merely that of partisans. It is surely not without significance, they think, that the belief common among the children of the Church should be shared by some of those who cordially detest and distrust Catholicism. Mr. J. A. Froude, for instance, makes this complaint: "It is a fact not to be denied that, in countries where, at the beginning of the century, a Catholic was as rare as frost in July, and the idea of a return to Popery would have been ridiculed as madness; there nevertheless, Popery is returning with a rapidity and a force so remarkable as to challenge attention and explanation. The reaction is strongest where the movement in the opposite direction was most violent." But there are some among us who had hoped for greater results than those which have been attained, and believe that methods other than those actually adopted by their co-religionists would have brought greater success to the Catholic cause. There are, we are warned, "very serious drawbacks to our prosperity," and it is well "that these should be recognized, and that we should not rest in a fool's paradise, or do nothing but praise each other, and deprecate others, as if we belonged to a mutual admiration society." Or again, the same suggestion is made in the form of the plaintive question: "Is there any religious body in this country where so much fine energy is wasted?" That such complaints are reasonable is of course far from an impossibility, for the Church is always liable to suffer through the shortcomings or shortsightedness of her sons; and when the complainants are Catholics, whether lay or clerical, who are known to be loyal to their faith, and anxious only for what will secure the triumph of the truth, what they have to suggest certainly deserves careful consideration. Recently two exponents of this less common view regarding the progress of the Church in England have claimed the attention of their fellow Catholics. In the last number of the DUBLIN REVIEW, Mr. St. George Mivart put forward this side of the case earnestly and plainly, contending that the conversion of England, which forty years ago was expected as a not very distant event, had been retarded not alone by circumstances beyond the control of Catholics, but also by the fact that the conduct of Catholics themselves had not been in all respects as judicious as it might have been. Mr. Mivart's contention was all the more important because he not only attempted to trace this failure to its source, but also had some practical suggestions to make to

the laity as to future co-operation with the clergy in the struggle to secure the conversion of this country. With much that he has written it is impossible not to agree. Every effort to elevate the standard of our education, and to render our culture more complete, claims earnest sympathy and support; and if the Catholics of the coming generation are to hold together, and not waste their forces by allowing themselves to be first isolated among and then absorbed by the Protestant majority around them, it is no doubt desirable that such social sympathy as is supposed to distinguish Catholics from Christians of other communions should have a real existence. That the laity should "serve tables" for the clergy, and give gladly to the Church the benefit of that business experience which is second nature to them, while it has from the nature of the case often been wholly withheld from their pastors, goes without saying; though it may be that the clergy have been too considerate to press the matter on laymen, and that this truth is one which needs to be re-stated. But along with so much that is beyond criticism, there are contentions of an important character, which Mr. Mivart urges with all the earnestness of keen conviction, but which cannot be so easily accepted; and I venture to think that some of these which more or less concern the relations of the Church with the Anglican Establishment have been so stated as to call for modification, not merely because they seem as they stand to reflect unjustly on the present policy of the Catholic Church in this country, but because they may be misunderstood by Anglicans, and taken as an admission on the part of a distinguished Catholic of certain charges which Ritualists reiterate without ceasing against modern Catholicism. That Mr. Mivart's tone in dealing with such delicate topics is respectful and filial it is needless to say; it is to be regretted that the same cannot be as safely asserted of another Catholic writer, who earlier in the year gave to the world his views on somewhat similar subjects. Lord Braye's little book on "The Present State of the Church in England" hardly deserves to be placed side by side with Mr. Mivart's essay. It is not cast in the form of an argument at all. It consists of a number of complaints for the most part vaguely, and in some cases vehemently, worded, without attempt at proof; and his "Seventeen Paragraphs," written in a species of prose-poetry, have the tone of a jeremiad poured forth by a prophet of coming desolation. Surely this is not the form in which a remonstrance should be addressed to those who are set over the Church of God? If there be ground for complaint let it be made by all means to those who have the power of redress; but there is a right and a wrong way of making it. It is not just that a father should rebuke his son till it is clear

that a fault has been committed; it is due to any inferior that when fault is found the ground of the fault-finding should be clearly and calmly stated. Any prudent parent, any just master, any capable teacher, will tell Lord Braye this. But what would be said of a son who took his father to task with less respect than that due from parent to child, and wherever his notions did not happen to accord with his superior's policy cried to the world to come and behold the shameful shortness of sight which did not see what to his childish wisdom was self-evident? Among Catholics such vague vaticinations will hardly receive even a passing attention, but among those who are outside the Church they may perhaps acquire an unreal importance from the fact that the existence of grievances, at which they hint in the language of sentiment, has been gravely asserted by such a Catholic writer as Mr. St. George Mivart.

If I venture to take on myself the task of suggesting certain errors into which, as it appears to me, Mr. Mivart and Lord Braye have fallen, it is with the desire not only to remove an unjust stigma of failure from my fellow Catholics, but also to point out both to them and to my former co-religionists in the Anglican communion the real bearings on our present position and theirs of the Tractarian movement; and to promote, so far as I can, that better understanding between Catholics and Anglicans to the absence of which so much injury to religion is due. One word of apology may be permitted me for making such an attempt. During the time that I was a clergyman of the Church of England it was my lot to have official and social relations with the clergy of many dioceses and of all schools of thought. I knew the Established Church, not only as a curate and afterwards as a beneficed clergyman, in town and country, but also as the representative of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor, and of the Additional Curates' Society, which supports the Home Missions of the Anglican Church. In the discharge of my duties I passed day after day from diocese to diocese and from parish to parish, and I may safely say that I have seen and conversed with more Anglican clergymen than any living Catholic can have done. In those days, I never thought, indeed, to leave the Church of England, but the question was always before me what side to take in the conflict of creeds which raged within her, and I seldom lost an opportunity of hearing what thoughtful and learned clergymen—of whom I had the privilege to know many—had to say on the great questions of the day. On the results of such intercourse I ground my view of the Church of England clergy and their attitude to Catholicism. My experience of them has been from the circumstances of the case not only vast but varied, for I have sat

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in a Synod of the Society of the Holy Cross, and I have discussed Auricular Confession with the late Dean Close; and it certainly leads me to the conclusion that the position of Protestants is much misunderstood among us. But while I agree with Mr. Mivart that numbers of the Anglican clergy lead "exemplary and devoted lives" which call for our sympathy, and that the Anglican Church is "often spoken of by some amongst us with sarcasm and ridicule as injudicious as unjust," I cannot but think that he has himself erred somewhat on the other side, and that much of his disappointment at the delay in the conversion of England is due to his sharing certain delusions on Anglican subjects which are as complete as they are common, even though he declines to accept the received view of his fellow Catholics as to the actual progress of the Church.

But before entering on this question it is natural to inquire whether it is quite certain that the speedy conversion of England was to be expected as a consequence of the Tractarian movement? That it *was* expected Mr. Mivart tells us, but that is a separate question. He adds, however, that in his opinion that expectation was not unwarranted. His argument seems to be to this effect: Religious evolution has so far culminated in the religion of the Cross; the spiritual development of man is the highest form of development known to us; and if a purpose underlies the course of Nature the events which were instrumental in spreading Christianity were providentially designed to spread it. The character of the ancient Roman Empire did facilitate the diffusion of the Gospel and aid in the organization of the Church; and what Rome did in early ages Portugal and Spain did for the Church in the sixteenth century. But as England has now succeeded to a vast imperial rule and a more than imperial influence, with a growing population and a characteristic fondness for freedom, the extension of the Holy Father's dominion must be the present providential purpose for which our imperialism exists. Protestant England, however, must first be Catholicized, and to the coming of such a consummation events seemed to point conclusively, when forty years ago the Tractarian movement sent its distinguished chief and his disciples to the Catholic Church. Certain conditions which seemed to be wanting were speedily supplied; but England is not Catholic or likely to be for some time. "Some obscure cause, or causes, evidently hindered the carrying out of consequences which seemed so surely designed by Providence to follow after such hope-inspiring antecedents. Since then, as year has succeeded year, our former sanguine hopes have seemed to fade and grow less and less likely to meet with speedy fulfilment." This is due partly to circumstances outside the control of Catholics, but also in part to faults of omission and com-

mission, and to injudicious proceedings on their own part ; and among the most fruitful causes of failure has been the introduction of "Italianism," the attempt to kindle amongst our Teutonic and Scandinavian peoples "a taste for the ways and feelings of Southern Italy," instead of favouring the identification of the Church of to-day with the English Catholic Church of mediæval times.

Such is the main part of Mr. Mivart's argument, and it will be seen at once that it contains a serious indictment—respectfully as it is expressed—against those who have directed the destinies of English Catholicism since the restoration of the hierarchy. But ought not such an indictment to rest on accepted facts rather than on historical theories ; and on established conclusions rather than on convenient assumptions ? It is true, of course, that Almighty God uses human agencies to fulfil His providential purposes ; but is it less true that the powers of the world are often permitted to postpone, if not actually to prevent, the progress of the Church ? The Roman Empire aided the spread of Christianity in early ages. Does it follow that every great empire in every age must have been raised up to fulfil the same purpose *directly* ? I say *directly*, for that is Mr. Mivart's contention, though he does not state it clearly. *Indirectly* the Roman Empire may be said to have aided Christianity in the first instance by persecuting and so purifying the Church ; and is it the case that great Powers always aid the Church *directly* ? Had the relations between the Papacy and the Empire of the West no share in preparing the way for the estrangement between the Holy See and the Eastern Church ? Again, did Spain always aid the Church ? Portugal and Spain may have been instrumental in the propagation of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and America ; but it may be argued that the action of Spain on behalf of Catholic interests did more to consolidate English Protestantism than all Elizabeth's prelates and preachers put together. Did the Ottoman Empire aid Christianity ? Or, if this case be an extreme one, take that of Russia. Is not the Czar in a position to effect the reunion of Christendom, and facilitate the return of millions of schismatics to the obedience of Rome ? But is it safe to assert that the Czar is providentially predestined to perform what in fact he prevents ? Germany, again, has been at war with the Church ; but now events point, as many believe, to a permanent peace between the Pope and this great Power. Prince Bismarck probably desires this for the sake of his country as keenly as Christ's Vicar seeks it for the sake of souls ; and Prince Bismarck could with a little persuasion regain for the Holy Father some share at least of his temporal power. May we therefore conclude that the power of Germany has been

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raised up for the purpose of placing the Pope once more upon his throne? It would at any rate be rash to found an argument on an assumption that such was the case; and it is surely no less hazardous to conclude that because England is in a position to be of use to the Church she has been providentially predestined for such a task, and therefore for speedy conversion to Catholicism.

To dogmatize as to the "interpretation of God's purpose" is to play with edge tools. In the hands of Protestants the practice has certainly not increased the popular respect for religion, and it would be a pity if Catholics should follow the example of the late Dr. Cumming, and of those Conservative readers of prophecy who traced in the cession of Cyprus, through the influence of a Hebrew Premier, a remarkable indication that the Jews should return to their own land under the auspices of the English people, and that the latter were in all probability the descendants of "the Lost Tribes." Looking back from a distance of centuries it may be fair to seek in the pages of history for indications of the purposes of God, but how can any man know enough of the facts of the case to treat contemporary history thus without allowing his imagination to run wild? Moreover, Mr. Mivart's argument rests on a second assumption, which may be less apparent than the first to English readers, but which is none the less an assumption. Granted for the moment that the patronage of some predominant Power is really a means of propagating the Gospel which has the Divine approval, must we not suspend our judgment as to which of all the Powers is the one that is to predominate in the future? How is it certain that England is that Power? To doubt this may seem to an Englishman sheer insanity; nevertheless, a great many people do doubt it, and it is therefore not to be assumed as axiomatic. Arguments based on what "Englishmen will" do or leave undone are suitable for the hustings, but hardly for theological discussions. This idea may be in itself "un-English," and therefore not worth listening to in English estimation. To the Englishman what is "English" is right, and what is "un-English" is wrong—a happy solution for awkward questions; but Popery is itself so essentially "un-English" that this kind of logic is a little out of place in the mouths of Catholics. Indeed, to most Catholics that an idea is "English," is a reason for regarding it *prima facie* with suspicion. What will French or Irish Catholics think of such a theory? To millions of Irish Catholics all over the world, "that small island" which is Mr. Mivart's "beloved home," is the home of the Protestant oppressors of a race faithful to the Church and distinguished among the nations for its widespread missionary enterprise. The

people of the United States of America are "agents" for Irish far more than for English "ideas and sentiments," and there are many who regard the diffusion of the Irish race, with its growing power in America and Australia, as far more remarkable than that of the English. To multitudes of Catholics it will seem probable that "the future dominance in the world" of "the English-speaking peoples" is "so certain," as Mr. Mivart says it is, only because "the English-speaking peoples" include peoples that are not English in race or sympathies, and sensible Englishmen are to be found by the score who deplore as no less "certain" the decadence, and even the speedy decadence, of England's imperial sway. These views may be wrong, but they may also be right. It is not necessary to pause for a moment to examine them, or to conjecture whether Russia or Germany is to be the Power of the future, or whether the Irish are the coming race. The existence of such opinions—which can hardly be questioned—need only be recalled in order to prove that Mr. Mivart starts with a surprising assumption when he declares that the spread of the Church can be "the only adequate object for our Empire's existence," and adds, that "to doubt this would amount to doubting the truth of Catholicism itself." Surely English Catholics rest their faith on some better basis than a political prophecy which has little more to recommend it than that it is pleasing to their national pride? In the past this sacrilegious nation, as Cardinal Newman calls it, has been the propagandist of Protestantism, and the bitterest foe of the Church in every part of the globe. Was she given her vast power to be the harbinger of Catholicism? If facts count for anything, can such a theory be accepted for a moment? That God will turn that great power to His own glory and the advantage of the Church, in His own way and in His own time, we may not doubt; but if we are to venture on any "interpretation of God's purpose," it is quite as reasonable to suppose that England is to be in the future what she has been in the past, one of the persecuting powers by which the Church has been purified for her divine mission, as to conclude that she will be the converter of the nations. Protestantism she has spread, and Protestantism is not dead. It takes daily a more dangerous form in that indifferentism which has sapped religious and moral life in this land so much in our own day; and it may be that the very quietness with which this anti-religious revolution is going on, will render it a far more formidable foe to the faith than any of those spasmodic rebellions against the Church which have arisen and been almost as quickly quelled in Catholic countries on the Continent. But I have no wish to prophesy evil for England, or to prophesy at all. All that I desire to do is to point out that

the premises with which Mr. Mivart starts are very far from sure. It may be that his conclusions will not seem more certain when subjected to closer scrutiny.

It may, no doubt, be answered that Mr. Mivart does not rely on theory alone. Speaking from personal experience he tells us that the speedy conversion of England was as a matter of fact expected at the time of Cardinal Newman's reception into the Church ; and that this was the feeling not alone of the ardent young students of Oscott, but of their seniors as well. No doubt this fact adds some weight to Mr. Mivart's argument, and every one must agree with him that those who entertained such hopes for England could "hardly be blamed as unreasonable." The Tractarian movement was one of the most remarkable religious phenomena which the world has seen. Its leader, the greatest intellect of his country, perhaps of his age, was a formidable antagonist of the Catholic Church, against which he had exhausted his unrivalled controversial skill. If controversy could have killed Catholicism the Church would have died before Newman was converted. But the Church lived, and her assailant was converted—not half-converted, but converted to be the most loyal and chivalrous of her defenders. Has he not overthrown himself in her cause, performing a feat that none but himself could have essayed ? And was not the contrast between the Anglican and the Catholic controversy of Cardinal Newman enough to show to those whose tentative faith was *Credo in Newmanum*, that in his later writings he wielded not the power of a single gigantic intellect alone ? The conversion of Cardinal Newman was, in truth, an event which might well mislead Catholics, for they could appreciate his power while he was yet a Protestant in a way that contemporary Protestants had not the knowledge to do. What could those know of his controversial vigour against Rome who knew not the rights of the controversy ? It was, indeed, no wonder that high hopes were cherished among illustrious Catholics at that thrilling time ; but it is very odd indeed that Mr. Mivart in looking back over the years that have since elapsed does not see that the circumstances assume a different aspect from that which they then wore. History this time, at any rate, is all against him. Things have turned out exactly opposite to his expectations and those of his friends ; but his confidence in his cherished theory is still complete, and the judgment of his contemporary Catholics continues correct. They looked for a miracle and it came not, but that does not show, forsooth, that they looked for what they had no right to expect. It is the fault of those who came after them—the wearers of chasubles that were not Gothic, and of mitres that were not low like Bishop Milner's. Surely those Catholics "can

hardly be blamed as unreasonable" who consider that it is simpler to infer from the course which events have taken that Mr. Mivart and a handful of his friends and superiors, who were impressed with Cardinal Newman's conversion, and who had faith in saintly Father Ignatius Spencer's prayers, leaped to a hasty conclusion, than to suppose that things have been very badly managed in England ever since we have had the hierarchy back again? History is against Mr. Mivart and his friends, and something more than history. It is no disrespect to the illustrious men who dreamed the dream of England's speedy conversion to say that their "confident hopes" were quite without warrant. They were, it must be remembered, arguing about a subject of which their ignorance was profound. Suppose that the greatest Catholics in England at that time expected the conversion of the country, what could a Catholic, however sagacious, know of the state of feeling among the Protestant clergy—in such a way as to judge whether they were near the Church or not? Nothing could at any time be more difficult to decide about, under the most favourable circumstances, for Catholics are just the last people to whom possible converts are likely to confide their doubts; and the separation between Catholics and Protestants was infinitely greater half a century ago than it is to-day. Cardinal Newman compares the knowledge which English Protestants had of their Catholic fellow-countrymen at the beginning of this century to that possessed of Christians by the heathen of old time; at the date of his conversion the same remark would have been no less true, and though "the rough outer-coating of dense anti-Catholic prejudice" was, as Mr. Mivart points out, removed from many an English mind by the resignation and piety of the French refugee ecclesiastics, their influence on the country at large was of necessity very limited. Indeed, Mr. Mivart unconsciously pleads against himself by what he tells us of the condition of Catholics before the Irish immigration. "Catholics in England," he says, "then consisted only of a number of highly respected old families (mostly leading retired lives), with their chapels and chaplains, together with a scanty population in a few towns and villages." The mass of English Protestants did not think of Catholics as a Christian community at all, did not accord to them even the consideration due to an insignificant sect. "The Roman Catholics," so ran the current phrase of the time, were, as Cardinal Newman observes, "not a body, however small, representative of the great communion abroad, but a mere handful of individuals who might be counted like the pebbles and *detritus* of the great deluge, and who, forsooth, merely happened to retain a creed which, in its day indeed, was the profession of a Church."

Mr. Froude's testimony is also worth notice in its way. "The Catholic religion," he says, "hung about some few ancient English families like a ghost of the past. They preserved their creed as an heirloom which tradition rather than conviction made sacred to them. A convert from Protestantism to Popery would have been as great a monster as a convert to Buddhism or Odin worship. 'Believe in the Pope!' said Dr. Arnold, 'I would as soon believe in Jupiter.'" This was all that Protestants knew of their Catholic neighbours. Is it surprising that we should hesitate to accept as unimpeachable the view which Catholics of that day took of such a portentous occurrence as the conversion of the Tractarian leaders? For how could they know more of Protestants than Protestants knew of them, except by hearsay and at second-hand.

It is, indeed, strange that such an argument should be gravely used by an experienced Catholic, when it is remembered how far even now Catholics and Protestants are from understanding each other. There is hardly a family of any social pretensions in this country that does not own some connection or near relationship with one or more converts to Catholicism. But the old ignorance, not unmixed with fear of all things Catholic, remains strong and vigorous. Even High Churchmen, who are commonly credited with Romeward sympathies, know as little of our real beliefs, feelings, and religious practices as it is possible for people to know while living in the same country with us. The Catholic, as the Protestant imagination depicts him, would hardly be recognizable by those of his own creed. And Catholics know just as little of Protestants and their actual ways and habits of thought. They are under all manner of delusions as to the religious whereabouts of Ritualists, they do not understand them, and I sometimes doubt whether they try very hard to do so. For this there are excellent reasons, to which I shall allude later on. Meanwhile the fact may be taken for granted, and I think that the experience of every Catholic who has formerly been a Protestant will in this matter tally with mine. Catholics and Protestants live in different worlds. Their faith, their modes of thought, their ways of life are as different as may be. They have little in common, and many grounds of disagreement, and a hereditary Catholic is the last person to gauge, with any approximation to the truth, the private feelings and tendencies of Anglican clergymen, whom he ordinarily misunderstands as entirely as he mistrusts them. Even converts of long standing come at length to find the position of their old friends a puzzle. The Puseyite standpoint and that of more recent Ritualism are poles apart. Beliefs and practices which ten years ago would have argued distinctly Romeward tendencies are now to be found in men who

are not merely tolerated but revered in the Established Church, by large and influential sections of the clergy and laity, and who know little and care less about the Church of Rome. The convert of ten years' standing is astonished at finding some old friend firmly fixed in his Anglican position, although he has advanced to a point undreamed of in the days when he, himself, discovered his "position as a Catholic in the Church of England" to be plainly untenable. Bishops whose lightest words were heavy in the estimation of early Tractarians have fulminated their anathemas in vain against doctrine after doctrine; Courts have condemned the "Conspirators," clergymen have been deprived of their benefices, and yet Ritualism has gone cheerfully on, taking up new standpoints, framing fresh *ultimatums* to suit altered aspects of affairs, and drawing out new definitions of "the Church," when events proved its position to be condemned by the application of older ones. Such fluctuations of principle are theoretically not wonderful in the disciples of an eclectic "Anglo-Catholicism;" but they are practically very puzzling to people who pass their lives outside the magic circle of this mysterious religion, and render the obedience of faith to an unchanging creed. To the younger Ritualists themselves the estimate formed of them and their doings by Catholics is also puzzling. Many of them have been brought up in their present form of belief; their views have grown with the growth of the views held by their party; they have never seen things as they used to be in the Church of England, and they cannot imagine why Catholics think them strange Anglicans. There are numbers of schools, for instance, where boys and girls have been taught to go to Confession and "hear Mass"—or perhaps I should say, "attend Celebrations"—regularly. That these things were not dreamed of by their fathers and mothers in their youth, they do not know; and when allusions are made by Catholics to the Church of England as it used to be they think it is mere Popish ignorance and spite.

It is, then, hardly fair for Mr. Mivart to infer from the expectations of Catholics in Tractarian times that the conversion of England ought to have occurred, but for the causes which he assigns for its delay. If such reasoning be permissible in that case, why not in the case of Catholics of to-day? Although "the depressing conviction was forced on" Mr. Mivart and his friends "that the conversion of England was a work reserved for a more distant future," there are numbers of Catholics—both admirers of "Italianism" and others—who look forward now to the speedy conversion of England with a simple faith which is at least touching and edifying, though it argues no great acquaintance with the state of religious feeling in the country at large.

Yet their knowledge of English Protestants cannot be less than was that of their pious predecessors. Are we justified in concluding that their views, taken in conjunction with the supposed future of greatness that lies before English imperialism, proves that England is designed by God to become Catholic in this generation or the next? Will our sons be justified forty years hence in charging the English Catholics of to-day with imprudence and want of tact in using opportunities if Catholicism grows slowly in that time, or even fails to advance at all? I confess with regret, that, so far as the Established Church is concerned, I see no signs at all of any great movement in the direction of the Catholic Church. I think that Catholics nowadays are sanguine without sufficient cause, just as were Catholics of the Tractarian times; and I claim Mr. Mivart once more in this matter as a witness for my view, as regards the past. The Tractarian movement, he tells us, "was in no way due to any action on the part of Catholics, but was altogether external to the Church." Again, he says that it "started indeed on principles which could have no other logical termination than submission to the Holy See; but, nevertheless, one of its express aims was to defend the national Church against the claims of Rome." Now this is what the main result of the Tractarian movement actually was. It roused the Establishment to new life, it took up new ground, suited to the spirit of the present age, against the Catholic Church; it met the artistic tastes of modern Protestants half-way by the invention of a new worship into which much of the dignity of Catholic ritual was imported, without a very definite belief in those supernatural truths which Catholicism teaches and the world rejects. Toleration for some of these truths in a more or less modified form has since been won by the resolution of such Ritualists as really believed in them; but it cannot be denied that ceremonialism in the Established Church is far in advance of dogmatic belief. The movement was not of the Church, though it was no doubt providentially guided for the general good of religion in England. That the ablest, and most logical, and the bravest of those who led that movement should have found their way to the Church was natural, but the majority of the Tractarians found their way elsewhere; and after the first "harvest of illustrious converts" had been gathered in, surely it was not remarkable that conversions became rarer, and that the converts were less "conspicuous?" When the crisis of the movement had passed, Puseyism as an intellectual power had waned. It no longer attracted the adhesion of the ablest minds at Oxford and Cambridge, and if "distinguished converts" became fewer, it was not due to any fault of Catholics, who had had nothing to do with this academical movement, but rather to the fact that

there were few "distinguished" Puseyites to convert. Nothing like a national conversion took place because the Catholic Church had not gained the ear of the nation. The movement was "external to the Church;" it was also alien to the feelings of the English people. In its early days, indeed, Puseyism had been very popular, but chiefly with "the educated and refined." It was not long before it excited widespread suspicion and authoritative condemnation. As Mr. Mivart observes, it "was emphatically a clerical movement, and it was a rare phenomenon for the laymen of a parish to support it, and heartily join in 'High' services." Is it far otherwise now? Ritualistic churches are no doubt often crowded when the preaching is attractive and the singing "hearty;" but how far do the laity sympathize with their pastors? Only so far, as a rule, as their personal respect and attachment to them will carry them. The laymen who really believe and practise all that their clergy believe and practise are in the most favoured churches but a handful out of the general congregation. Was the conversion of England to be expected from a movement so partial, so essentially clerical, and so entirely free from Catholic influence?

But what is it, according to Mr. Mivart, that has marred the fulfilment of this supposed "gracious purpose" of God towards England? The causes are twofold, adverse circumstances over which we have no control, and the faults of Catholics themselves. About the former little need here be said, but it must be observed that the question of mixed marriages is hardly one to be disposed of in a few lines, seeing that there are well-informed priests who are of opinion that we have gained by them rather than lost, on the whole, as regards numbers. But Mr. Mivart's complaint as to the contrast between Catholic and Anglican worship is amazing. He is very complimentary to the Church of England, and singles out for kindly notice two churches—All Saints', Margaret Street, and St. Peter's, Bournemouth—where he says there is such a "reverent and reasonable service" that Catholics "who have strayed" into them "would gladly see something similar amongst ourselves." I used in former days to frequent one of the churches named by Mr. Mivart, and of the other I was for some time curate; and I confess I read his statement and his suggestion with as much surprise as regret. These things are of course matters of taste, but there is an educated and also an uneducated taste, and the liturgical taste which prefers the poor, bald, parody of Vespers which the Church of England calls "Evensong," to the stately worship of which it is a reminiscence and no more, is surely a taste that calls for education. As to the musical rendering of the services at these two Anglican churches, it was careful and devotional so far as it went, and the

choir of All Saints' on Sundays—not on week-days—sang very well indeed. At Bournemouth, however, the service was far from perfect though the choir was expensive, and though an unusually skilful organist was ever on the alert to cover a multitude of sins. Compared with other Anglican churches these two are seen to advantage—as they should be, considering the wealth of their congregations; but musically the services at All Saints' and at Bournemouth—which by-the-by were not by any means of the same character—will not for a moment bear comparison with those at any well-known Catholic church. Has Mr. Mivart never been at Vespers at the Oratory, or the Pro-Cathedral, or the Carmelite Church in Kensington, or at Farm Street, or the Jesuit Church of the Holy Name at Manchester, or at the old Benedictine Church in Seel Street, Liverpool—not to speak of others? I will venture to assert that the choirs of most Anglican parish churches would find it very difficult to give a really satisfactory rendering of the music ordinarily performed with precision and effect by the choirs of the Catholic churches which I have named. There is no need to apologize for Catholics in this matter. Anglicans no doubt sing hymns better than we do, for it is the *specialité* of their present form of worship, and they chant the psalms tunefully, if not always with much devotion; but is the ordinary Anglican choir capable of singing the music of the Masses which we hear every Sunday? It is to me a matter of marvel that the Catholic community, with inferior numbers, poverty, and an unmusical and ill-fed Irish population, can get together such choirs as are to be heard in our greater churches in town and country. Our task is infinitely more difficult than that of the Anglicans (I may speak as an amateur choirmaster of some experience), and *positis ponendis* it is infinitely better performed. We are still “a small body worshipping with unrivalled solemnity,” and wherever Ritualists have made their services attractive they have merely done so because they have followed in our wake. Mr. Mivart, however, regards our supposed shortcomings in this respect as our misfortune rather than our fault. He is not so lenient as to other matters. “Italianism” has been, he thinks, a hindrance to the progress of the Church in England. Now what is “Italianism?” It is something which cultivated a “taste in devotion” which “gradually became, in many places, less ‘liturgical’ and more ‘sensational;’ and this still continues, so that we now find that psalmody is banished from one of our leading London churches, while some persons are trying hard to banish it even from our Pro-Cathedrals.” These are dark sayings, and I cannot pretend to be in the secrets of the conspirators; but there are instructive facts within my reach which

reassure me. *Pace* Lord Braye, I like statistics, and I find no such terrible state of things existing as Mr. Mivart complains of. The *Catholic Directory* for 1884 tells us that either Vespers or Compline is sung in all our Cathedrals on Sundays, and in all the London churches except some twenty minor churches, out of, say, eighty-five. Salford Cathedral is only an apparent exception, as there an English liturgical service is sung as an equivalent to Vespers. "Italianism" in any case can hardly be held responsible for the decline of "liturgical" worship, if such a decline exists. No churches in England are more Roman in their ways than the Jesuit Church in Farm Street, the Brompton Oratory, St. Mary's, Bayswater, and the Kensington Pro-Cathedral. But where in England is Vespers sung with more solemnity of ritual, and with greater musical care, than in these churches? And the mention of them leads to another point in Mr. Mivart's indictment. If "Italianism" stays the conversion of England, is it not a fact that needs accounting for that these "Italianist" churches—officered largely by the "conspicuous converts" who are answerable for propagating this "taste in devotion"—are just the churches where most conversions from Anglicanism have taken place? I am not concerned to champion "Italianism," but I must once more point out that Mr. Mivart inclines to support his case by theory, where facts, and very carefully weighed facts, ought to have been forthcoming.

But then our services, though liturgical, are in Latin. The English-speaking races, thinks Mr. Mivart, might be helped into the Church by the institution of "authoritative liturgical services in the English tongue, intermediate between the 'Book of Common Prayer' and the 'Breviary.'" Moreover, he thinks that "not a few converts" would find in such services a relief for a "yearning after their old worship." Lord Braye seems to agree with this suggestion, and groans out: "A plea for the psalms! Can it come to this that a sinner's pen should plead for the manual of the Church universal!" Are the psalms, then, unknown to our clergy and religious? One might suppose that such was the case, and that Lord Braye had just discovered the Psalter from the meditation on its history and use which he pours forth in his fifth "paragraph." But it is of the laity that he thinks: "Descending to what really is the dark case," he declares, "it is this—that only one psalm, the 129th, and that by an accident, is known to the laity." Is that so? Do they not know, for example, the 50th and the 116th—that is, those who go often to Confession and to Benediction—to say nothing of the psalms for the Sunday Vespers? But granting the facts, are the inferences of Mr. Mivart and Lord Braye correct? Inside the Church, surely Vespers are easily understood by

persons who can appreciate a service of the kind. Will those who are without be won to Catholicism by the English psalms? Mr. Mivart refers to Anglicans and converts, and I am bound to say that, as regards these classes, my experience is the reverse of his. I have never heard of a convert who liked Evensong better than Vespers; but be that as it may, the greater question is about those who are not yet converted. Would such a service win them? In the Established Church one great difficulty of the clergy consists in the obligation to give the liturgical services morning and evening under all circumstances. Indeed, in cases where new parishes are being formed in poor districts, it is found impossible to abide by the strict rule. To the average man of the middle class, and to all the poor, the language of the Prayer-book, although it is "the noblest and most magnificent form of the English tongue," is as unintelligible as Latin; and so would any English in which it would be possible to conduct a liturgical service in church. Are we to adopt Anglican failures? The Prayer-book does not win the sympathies of the mass of the English people nearly so much as the unliturgical efforts of the Salvation Army and the respectable Dissenting bodies. Shall we repeat the mistake? "A convert from the middle classes is unknown," says Lord Braye, and he is mistaken, for I myself know of several; but if we are to make many such converts it will not be by liturgical worship. They must be attracted by what is attractive to them, what that is may be discovered in any Ritualistic or Dissenting church. Why are these places of worship attractive to the English middle classes? It is mainly because there is much congregational singing, and much emotional preaching. The average middle-class Briton knows nothing and cares nothing about worship. He goes to church to "get good," as his phrase is—in other words, to be made comfortable or uncomfortable as the case may be about his soul—and this result is wrought in him by listening to sermons and shouting hymns. By all means let Catholics make use of similar means to win the middle and lower classes; but is not this just what "Italianists" do, in addition to their carefully conducted liturgical services? Let any one who doubts the superiority of the Catholic system attend Evensong at an Anglican church and afterwards Vespers at one of our own churches. At the former he will not only be offended by the mannerisms of the clergy, the mouthing of the prayers and lessons—horrors from which our use of Latin saves us—but he will observe that the liturgical service is tolerated but not entered into by the middle-class and lower-class members of the congregation. They endure the service for the sake of the hymns and the sermon; there is little or no apparent attempt on their

part to enter into it. At Vespers he will see that those to whom a liturgical service is unsuited still take their part in the worship of the church in their own way. They have their beads or their books, and they do not wear the appearance of *ennui* which marks an Anglican congregation during the chanting of the prayers. In this matter, as in that of the conduct of her liturgical services, the Church needs no apology, and need fear no comparison. This, I think, Ritualists would themselves be the first to admit—excepting those who, having never seen a Catholic service, are inclined to suppose that their own is far superior.

But why is England not Catholic? If the “glorious prospect” which Mr. Mivart “opens to our imagination” by his “interpretation of God’s purpose” must be given up; if the “confident hopes” of forty years ago are to be pronounced fondly founded, now that time has failed to bring their fulfilment; if the promoters of “Italianism” have really been the makers of converts in spite of their delusion that “the lowest Gothic mitres” and “the Gothic chasuble” are not the unerring instruments for the overthrow of Reformation principles, what account is to be given of the limited success which Catholicism has attained? If I am asked such a question, I am tempted to answer it first of all on Hibernian principles. I doubt, indeed, whether it is necessary for my present purpose to answer it at all. Why should it be? Because I object to accept a reading of nineteenth-century history such as Mr. Froude might have framed, as the foundation for an attack on the present policy of the Church in England; because I decline to admit that the Church has need to be taught by the heretical parody of Catholicism which Anglicans have devised in self-defence; because I conceive that enthusiasm led astray certain distinguished ecclesiastics forty years ago in judging of a question of which they had but scanty knowledge; must I in my turn feel bound to take to myself the rôle of a judge, and say why England is not Catholic—or, in other words, lay down directions for the Church as to the means by which alone she can carry out the work which God has given her to do in this land? I will not for a moment venture on any “interpretation of God’s purpose”; but to the question, why is England not Catholic, it is after all not very hazardous to suggest a possible reply, and the Hibernian method is at any rate a fairly safe one. If then, I am asked the question, why is England not Catholic, I should answer with the other question, “Why should England be Catholic?” There are a hundred reasons why she should not; I can hardly find a satisfactory reason why she should.

To begin with, any sudden change is wholly foreign to the

English character. Every political and social reform that has been accomplished in this country has been the work of generations. It took a long time to Protestantize England, so long that the old Catholicism has not yet been wholly stamped out of the Liturgy of her State Church, but survives to recall to men's minds those forgotten truths, the reassertion of which has led to such marvellous results in our own days. Ritualists are filled with delight at the occurrence of these quasi-Catholic phrases in the Prayer-book, and fasten on them meanings more definite than those they originally bore in Catholic mouths, so as to make them lend some sort of support to the "Anglo-Catholic" position. But they forget when they treat their pet passages in the Prayer-book as all but inspired, and insist on the force of almost every letter and every comma, for the sake of their supposed Catholicity, that the compilers of the book were hereditary Catholics, who, though they had apostatized, could hardly unlearn at will all the ecclesiastical phraseology to which they had been trained. The wonder is, as an observant writer has said, "not that such expressions should be found, but that so few remain." It is no less remarkable, however, that these have been allowed to remain so long. The book has been revised more than once in its earlier days, and it has somehow been allowed to retain its High Church characteristics; nowadays not all the efforts of Lord Ebury and the Prayer-book Revision Society will avail to effect the alteration of a single word. Englishmen are suspicious of reforms. Like a well-known old campaigner of the generation that is gone, they feel that "any change, even for the better, is much to be deprecated"—that is, until their passions are aroused by popular agitators, and they suddenly awake to a conviction that "something must be done." This is decidedly one of the stronger traits of the national character. It has saved many lives at critical times in our constitutional history, and rendered revolutions bloodless. Nevertheless, it operates in two ways, and to it is due to a large extent the slowness with which Catholicism has made way in England since its revival. As the Scotch are said to assimilate jokes slowly, so do the English as a nation accept slowly all new ideas. Now to make any nation Protestant ought surely to be an easier task than to win it back to God, and if that be generally true, most of all will it be true of a nation so strong in character and so conservative in its attachments as is the English nation. But to make half England Catholic in half a century! Truly this was a strange dream for any Englishman to believe in.

Another reason why England has not been converted speedily to the Catholic faith is that the clergy of the Established Church are to a man sincerely Protestant. It matters little that some of

them may profess to hold doctrines which are ordinarily supposed to be held by Catholics alone among all Christians. After all, it is a matter of no great moment, from this point of view, whether a man holds many of the truths of Christianity or few. The points to consider are why does he hold what he holds; and why does he deny what he denies? If by his investigations in ecclesiastical history, or his reading of the Bible, he has come to the conclusion that there are seven Sacraments, as the Catholic Church teaches, and not "two only, as generally necessary to salvation," as his own Catechism declares, is the Anglican therefore any the more a Catholic? He might as well choose to accept three Sacraments, or five, or six. Indeed, Anglicans do not as a body really, that is practically, believe in seven Sacraments, but only in six at most. What do they think of Extreme Unction? "The Unction of the Sick," wrote the late Bishop Forbes—the most advanced Anglican prelate that ever lived—"is the lost pleiad of the Anglican firmament;" and he goes on to add, "One must at once confess and deplore that a distinctly Scriptural practice has ceased to be commanded in the Church of England. Excuses may be made of 'corrupt following of the Apostles,' in that it was used, contrary to the mind of St. James, when all hope of the restoration of bodily health was gone; but it cannot be denied that there has been practically lost an Apostolic practice whereby, in case of grievous sickness, the faithful were anointed and prayed over, for the forgiveness of their sins, and to restore them, if God so willed, or to give them spiritual support in their maladies." This is the language of the chief episcopal representative of the Ritualists. Can it be said that it is the language of one who believed the Sacrament of Extreme Unction to have been ordained by our Divine Lord? Besides this, hardly any Anglicans ever attempt to administer this "lost" Sacrament. Although I was much with "extreme" men when I was a curate, and afterwards a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England, I was never asked to anoint any one, nor should I have known how to do so, or where to get the "Holy Oil." I never knew a clergyman who had endeavoured to give Extreme Unction, or a church where oil for the purpose could be had. It was vaguely rumoured that Bishop Forbes did bless oil for the anointing of the sick in his distant diocese of Brechin, and it was said that some southern clergymen were so fortunate as to be permitted to profit by this rare exercise of episcopal power—which of course could not be hoped for from, say, Archbishop Tait, or Bishop Jackson, of London. But Bishop Forbes' own view of the matter is therefore all the more instructive. "The Church of England," he says, "acted more in conformity to its declared adherence to antiquity, by appointing in the first instance a

Service for the anointing of the sick in her first English Prayer-book. . . . Since, however, the Visitation of the Sick is a private office, and uniformity is required only in the public offices, there is nothing to hinder the revival of the Apostolic and Scriptural custom of anointing the sick whosoever any devout person may desire it,"—nothing, that is, except the want of form and matter, and all knowledge of the Sacrament on the part of nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand Anglican ministers. The Bishop concludes with the consoling reflection that "it was never considered necessary to salvation. . . . It was rather a privilege of the devout." I quote the Bishop's words on this subject, in order to give an illustration of my assertion as to the Protestantism of the Anglican clergy, which must at once be recognized as fair. The principle on which he seems to write is one of Protestant eclecticism. "Why reject what is admirable in the Catholic because he is a Catholic," he seems to say, "this practice seems to have had the approval of St. James. Use it, by all means, if you like; but if you do not, what does it matter? It is not, after all, necessary to salvation." Now this is exactly the temper of mind of the Ritualistic party, and it is also the temper of mind that is most typical of Protestantism. Some Anglicans practise "non-communicating attendance," or "hearing Mass," under the direction of their sacerdotalist guides. Others, under the direction of guides who are no less sacerdotal in their pretensions, are led to believe that this practice is "not Primitive," and therefore not permissible. Dr. Pusey averred that he would not venture even on the outskirts of so vast a system—apparently because it was vast—as that of the Invocation of Saints which the Church promotes. Canon Carter, on the other hand, ventured just to the outskirts of the system, and, in his "Treasury of Devotion," gave a "Scriptural" version of the first part of the *Hail Mary*, which many used who would not to save their lives have used the *Holy Mary*. "History" is made answerable for all these odd divergences of belief and opinion, just as the Prayer-book or the Bible is credited with the teaching of this or that doctrine. But Anglicans have not learned that any interpreter is required either for History, or the Bible, or the Prayer-book; though nothing admits, in ignorant hands, of more misleading manipulation than the Bible, and the Prayer-book, and History. The Anglican who holds every doctrine of the Church save that of the Infallibility of the Pope—and such Anglicans are not hard to find—is of course no less a Protestant than he who denies some or most of them. The Anglican holds more doctrines, or fewer, because his reading has convinced him that they are true or not true, or, oftener, because the leaders of the "school of thought" to which

he belongs declare them to be tenable or untenable. But he does not accept any single doctrine as divinely revealed for the reason that a Divine Teacher on earth has pronounced it to be part of the infallible teaching of God.

Hereditary Catholics cannot conceive such a state of mind as this for a reason which is often overlooked. To them the belief in a visible Church, the Divine Instructor of the nations, has been from their earliest years a truth as certain as that of the existence of God. The Anglican, on the other hand, has not learned practically to believe in a Visible Church at all. To him it is not a fundamental truth ; it is not taught as such in any of the Anglican formularies ; it is a sort of ornamental, "extra belief," a charming dream, if you will ; a subject for investigation and theorizing on ; it is not, however, a great fact. The hereditary Catholic is puzzled beyond expression as he hears that there are Anglicans, well-read, cultivated, even learned ; men, too, of great energy in their pastoral work, and of exemplary life ; who practically believe almost all that the Catholic Church teaches, and yet remain without the true fold. He finds it almost impossible to believe that such a position can be sincere. Yet sincere it is, whether Catholics believe it or not. I am, I think, quite safe in asserting that not one Anglican minister in a hundred has ever had even a momentary suspicion that the Church of Rome and she alone is the Church of God. The hereditary prejudice against Popery has been only too faithfully handed on ; the wells are poisoned ; that "Romanism" is founded on fraud is an Anglican axiom, and hardly any Anglican dreams of going behind it. How, asks the Catholic, can the question *De Ecclesid* escape notice ? The answer is that Anglicans do not really believe in the Visible Church, although they have a theory about a Church. So then the Anglican learns last just what the Catholic would try to get him to admit in the first instance. Few Catholics would think of wasting many words in proving to a man who believes in Transubstantiation that there is a Teaching Church. But that is just what has to be done if any advance is to be made in the Anglican's conversion. Ask an Anglican minister "What are the grounds of your belief?" and his reply will convince you that the subject is not one which he regards as of practical interest. Catholic controversialists have doubtless put the case plainly again and again, but their efforts are without effect because Ritualists will not read what they write. Rome is wrong, and Anglican Orders are valid—these are established truths among Anglicans ; and so it comes about that very few ministers indeed have ever read a Roman Catholic book in their lives—I except, of course, devotional books such as those of Father Faber. Attacks on Rome

they will read, but not the replies. Dr. Littledale's "Plain Reasons" they will sow broadcast among classes of readers who cannot possibly judge intelligently on the controversy; but Father Ryder's masterly reply is rarely read by Ritualists. Rome is wrong, and they do not care to consider the question further. So with regard to Anglican Orders it is worth notice that no eminent Ritualists should have written on the question on which —however illogically—they make their position depend. Canon Estcourt's work remains unanswered, not merely because it admits of no answer—for if Anglicans felt this they would give up their pastoral positions—but because it is their view that the question is closed. It is Rome *versus* England, and Rome of course must be wrong.

If it be answered that such a position is clearly dishonest, it must be admitted that it is logically dishonest. I have no desire to defend it, but only, for the sake of our present inquiry, to point out the facts. Clergymen of the Church of England are, I am fully persuaded, thoroughly sincere in their erroneous beliefs. It is after all quite possible for an honest man to occupy a dishonest position, for questions of judgment and information have to be taken into account, and much depends on the point of view from which any matter is regarded. From the Catholic's point of view Anglicanism is anomalous and absurd. Probably it would wear the same appearance if viewed from an impartial standpoint; but who is impartial where a matter of great moment to himself is involved? These men are sincere, even though it is impossible to acquit them of a want of seriousness in their way of treating such a subject—especially when they take the responsibility of teaching others and of restraining them from even hearing what the claims of the Catholic Church really are. No one urges that every form of opinion is to be investigated by every one, learned and unlearned; but the position of the Roman Catholic Church towards Anglicanism is unique, and the claims of the oldest and the greatest of the Christian communities ought at least to be listened to with respect by the newer and smaller community which has so recently put forward, though not in any official way, its own claim to the name of Catholic. Still clergymen of the Church of England are sincere, and their conversion will not be accelerated by sarcasms about "snug livings," and the loss of "clerical position." It should not be forgotten that few of the livings held by the Ritualists are "snug," and that in many cases where they are in office it is the parson who keeps the parish, and not the parish the parson; while, as to "clerical position," the Anglican clergy are usually drawn from a class that has little to gain in social status by the superadded clerical dignity, and little to lose by its loss. There

are of course a multitude of cases in which married clergymen, with large families, are dependent on their profession, but the history of conversions during the last forty years does not teach us that such clergymen cling to their preferments when convinced that their place is in the Catholic Church. Convince Ritualists that Rome is right, and there will be as little hesitation among them as to their duty as there was among their predecessors.

To explain how such a strange obstacle to the conversion of England should exist in these days of free inquiry, the circumstances of Anglican clerical training should be taken into account. The modern Ritualist is very seldom a learned man like the old Tractarian. The ablest men at Oxford and Cambridge no longer enter the ministry of the Established Church, and the highest academical distinction is not always to be found in the popular dignitaries and preachers. The clergy, however, are still for the most part scholars and gentlemen. They have the culture which a University life bestows, and which belongs to the upper classes in English society. They are moreover, in most cases, men of kindly and pious intentions, and blameless conduct, and so they pass muster as very worthy ministers. Theology, however, is the last thing that they are likely to know. How should they? The "Divinity" required in the Schools at Oxford is not by any means advanced. A young man who has learned his Scripture History, and the Thirty-nine Articles, with a little Greek Testament at home or at school, will need little further study to pass in "Divinity." The examinations are, like all Oxford examinations, searching and careful, and a real knowledge of the subjects must be exhibited by undergraduates; but these examinations are not to be regarded as in preparation for a clerical career, but rather as tests of that acquaintance with "Divinity" which any Christian layman ought to have. The Final Theological School does little to mend matters, for it is an Honour School only, and the average pass-man cannot hope for success in it. It comes, then, to this, that the vast majority of Oxford men who take Anglican Orders have no theological training beyond the "Divinity," to which I have alluded, and the lectures of the University professors. These lectures, as I remember them, were exceedingly learned and able. But when Dr. Mozley discoursed on the Articles in the Latin Chapel at Christ Church, there was nothing to prevent his auditors from learning their Euclid for the impending "Second Schools," or reading novels, or making sketches of the chapel and the lecturer, and of the audience—according to their bent of mind. Comparatively few listened to the lectures, for it was supposed that they would be of little practical use in preparation for the Bishop's examination, and all that was required was to be present at them. No

*Speaker of
House of*

subsequent knowledge of their subject was required. So, too, at Canon Bright's attractive lectures on Eusebius. There were many attentive listeners, but also many to whom Eusebius was quite unintelligible, and who had no desire to know anything of him or his doctrine. And this kind of teaching is all the preparation that Oxford makes compulsory on the coming clergy of the national Church. There remains, indeed, the ordeal of the Bishop's examination. But a month's "cram" will take an intelligent young man safely through its difficulties, and Bishops are slow to reject University men of good conduct and good connections in these days when the clerical profession is hardly what it used to be, socially speaking. And so a student of a few weeks finds himself a parson, called upon to visit the sick and dying, and to instruct the living, young and old, learned and unlearned, in the religion of which he has at least no technical grasp. Amidst the many occupations of a parish into which he is plunged forthwith, where is there time for private study, supposing the young clergyman to be a student? In preaching and instructing, questions of all sorts will come before him, of which he had never thought. How are they to be solved? His seniors, his director, if he has one, will suggest solutions, and point out profitable courses of reading; and naturally enough the young clergyman will follow his guides implicitly in the *terra incognita* in which he finds himself. Then, if at length a "Roman difficulty" arises, he is bid to banish it as a temptation of the devil, is assured that the learned Anglican leaders have settled all these questions conclusively, that History (of which he knows nothing) makes the Anglican position as clear as the day, that Roman Catholic controversialists are always ignorant or untruthful, or both, and that the "modern pretensions of the Pope" are founded on a clever and long-continued system of fraud. The ill-read Anglican believes his instructors, acquires from handbooks the jargon of their "school of thought," and in his turn hands on the tradition. Why should such an one think deeply *De Ecclesiâ*? What does he know of it? He is not willing even to hear of it, for he is set to defend a position that he has never considered, and he is persuaded beforehand that his Catholic opponents are wrong and dishonest, whoever else may have a right to a hearing. If it be thought that this estimate is too severe, or too sweeping, the testimony of such an experienced convert as the late Canon Oakeley may fairly be cited in support of my view. Catechetical instruction, he said, "is quite as necessary in the case of what are called educated converts as in that of the humbler classes." And this did not refer to the Anglican laity alone, for he adds: "I can by no means except even the Anglican clergy from the operation of the general rule

I have laid down. I speak of them of course as a body; and, with this limitation, I will say that I have often been really surprised to find how utterly they are without grasp of the true Catholic doctrine on such fundamental points as the Incarnation, and all the collateral truths into which it ramifies. I am convinced that it is as great a mistake, to take for granted that all clerical converts have religious knowledge enough to be received, as that all of them who are not married have a vocation for the priesthood; and I cannot express my sense of the former error more forcibly than by placing it in juxtaposition to the latter."

It would, however, be a great mistake to regard all the Ritualistic clergy as mere dabblers in the science of religion. There are among them men of solid ability and attainments, who if their academical training has not made them theologians, have at least at the University learned how to learn. A man who has taken a good classical degree at Oxford, for instance, will be found able afterwards to acquire a fair knowledge of a modern language or two at the cost of comparatively little labour. A man who has gained a class in the Modern History School will master a good deal of ecclesiastical history when he directs his attention to it, with an ease to which a student of longer but narrower experience is a stranger. There are, accordingly, among the Ritualists a number of men of very considerable attainments in theological learning, as well as a number whose knowledge is not deep, but for the most part gained at second-hand. Canon Oakeley, whose explicit declaration as to the theological ignorance of the majority of Anglican ministers has been quoted above, does not fail to acknowledge that there are converts, particularly from the High Church party, "who often bring with them so much knowledge of Catholic doctrine" as leaves the priest who instructs them before their reception "little to do except in the way of supplying the foundation;" who have made such a study of Catholicism that they will come to the priest, not with questions about fundamental doctrines, but with "a long string of intellectual difficulties or nervous apprehensions," satisfied "that the true religion is nowhere out of the Church" but "not yet satisfied that it is there"—a very common case, Canon Oakeley adds. It is not strange that such clergymen are converted; but how are we to explain the case of those who, in spite of much knowledge and undeniable honesty, remain Protestants? The difference, as it appears to me, between a well-read Anglican minister and a trained Catholic priest in this matter of theology, is the difference between a self-taught amateur and a professional person. Anglican ministers, however gifted and cultivated some of them may be, do not acquire their theology as barristers and solicitors learn law, or doctors study the science of medicine. They are amateurs,

Oakeley.

teaching themselves, for the most part, according to the bent of their own inclinations and tastes ; and the greatest among the guides of the High Church " school of thought " are in this respect at no particular advantage over their disciples. The result, naturally, is not a scientific acquaintance with theology, but an unbalanced system of divine philosophy. It is not improbable than an amateur Inn of Court or College of Physicians might present to the legal or medical world results less strange in their way, while the gifted but undisciplined lawyers or doctors need not of necessity be knaves. One more consideration should not be left out of account. The present age is, in a certain sense, eminently religious. On all sides men are anxious in one way or another to know something more about God and the concerns of their souls. All the Christian bodies are more active than they were fifty years ago, and we are preached at from every street corner, while night and morning are alike made hideous by the manœuvres of some detachment of the Salvation Army. This abundant supply of spiritual wares argues a decided demand ; and such a demand from minds which had been under Tractarian influence but had not been led to the Catholic Church, would naturally find some kind of satisfaction in such a system as Ritualism—at once Protestant in its principles and Catholic in its claims. Ritualism may fairly be regarded rather as a devotional than a theological movement—indeed Ritualists themselves would perhaps not deny the accuracy of this description. It appeals to a certain class of minds for which there is no peace in Protestantism, minds to which certain Catholic doctrines readily commend themselves, though the idea of the Church as Catholics know it has not dawned on them. There are persons who perceive the truth of the Catholic doctrine of Confession the moment it is stated, that is as Ritualistic missionaries state it, in Protestant language, using no " Roman " terms which might alarm the " weak brethren." Under such conditions the poor so readily receive the doctrine that many persons believe that a shadow of the old Catholic tradition still survives among them, on this as on some other subjects. But the attraction of the devotional aspect of Penance is not confined to the poor. Who can read Dean Goulburn's " Thoughts on Personal Religion"—a marvellous book of spiritual reading to have sprung from a purely Anglican source—without seeing that the author would fain recommend to his readers some such spiritual consolation as Catholics seek in the Sacrament of Penance? Bishop Wilberforce, again, though he was sufficiently hostile to the Church, though he hated sacerdotalism, and denounced direction as a device of the devil, is known to have fully recognized the advantages of at least occasional confession to a minister. The same thing may

be said of many other doctrines. To some men the truth and beauty of the doctrines of the Real Presence and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice are apparent at first sight, so as never to be forgotten when once heard of, and even to become forthwith fixed in the mind as settled subjects of belief. The same may even be said of Prayers for the Dead, and—greatest stumbling-block of all—of the honour rendered by Catholics to the Mother of God ; for there are Anglicans, and there have been such for a good many years, who honour our Blessed Lady even as we ourselves do. When a doctrine attracts by its devotional aspect the process of proving its " Primitive " or " Scriptural " character is not difficult ; and it is probably in some such way that the Ritualists have been led in the course of their somewhat undisciplined and spasmodic dogmatic career to accept so large a number of Catholic doctrines, that they present to the world the appearance of being " at the very gates of Rome." One Catholic doctrine after another has been assimilated, even the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is believed among the rest, in spite of the Article which denies it—but all have been adopted in the same way. One very important dogma, however, is of a kind that defies this process. To the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope there is not exactly a devotional side, at least from an Anglican point of view. Here the Ritualist finds himself face to face with the question *De Ecclesiâ*, whether he will or no. If I dare hazard a conjecture as to the divine purposes, looking not to the future but the past, I should trace in the promulgation of that dogma at which the world cried out so loud a providential preparation against that subtle form of heresy which we call Ritualism, while yet its true tendencies had not become apparent. Who can say how many Anglicans might have found their way into the Church by an extension of the process which I have tried to describe, without ever learning what was meant by Divine Faith, but for that dogma ? Who can say whether we might not but for the Vatican Council have had by this time in our midst a powerful band of *doctrinaires*, of rationalistic, or " Liberal " Catholics who might have sapped the life of the reviving Church in England ? To attempt to follow out such an inquiry would be foreign to our present purpose ; but perhaps enough has been said in the way of suggestion why Ritualists have not been the means of bringing half England to the Church, and why many of these earnest seekers after God, despite their learning and their zeal, have themselves failed to come to that knowledge of the Truth, which some among them have gained by grace—not, it may be, because they have merited it, but because their need of it was greater than was that of those whom they have left behind in the twilight of half-faith.

inculcate

Ritualists are honest—though Ritualism is not; and Ritualists are earnest. Catholics do ill to sneer at them, as Mr. Mivart says. Yet, Mr. Mivart unconsciously fails more than those who least respect the Ritualists to give them due credit for earnestness. What is to be said of his suggestions about chasubles and mitres? Who are the men who are to be won by Gothic vestments? Surely not those who are content to forfeit the smile of their Bishops, and the favour of their fellow-countrymen, to be called "conspirators," and "law breakers," and to be put in prison, because they will not give up the outward expression of those doctrines which they hold dear, though they have no right, logically or legally, to hold them at all? Ritualists, let me tell Mr. Mivart, wear vestments because they believe in the Sacrifice of the Mass. They wear Gothic vestments, because they believe that they are the true representatives of the mediæval English Church—and also as a kind of protest against Rome. But the vestments themselves they set store by, mainly because the use of these garments shows to the world that they hold that doctrine which the world denies, and which they think it is their mission to revive in England. They would, I am sure, "celebrate" in sacks, if thereby they could convert Protestant Englishmen to what they call "Catholicism." At St. Peter's, Bournemouth, we wore surplices and black stoles, lest we should frighten the people to whom by sermons and instructions we taught plainly those doctrines which vestments symbolize; and that, not because the brave and single-minded minister, who was the real founder of that great church, was afraid—for he feared nothing, except doing wrong—but because that was his reading of Our Lord's example on teaching the Word to the people "as they were able to bear it." As to the vestment question, Rome has very likely not condemned "the Gothic chasuble"—few Catholic laymen care to inquire about the matter, unless they happen to be Gothic architects; but it is hardly fair to quote Bishop Milner or Cardinal Wiseman on a matter which must be judged of to a great extent by the Circular of Pius IX. to the Bishops, of the year 1864. It is not necessary to add anything to Mr. Mivart's own arguments in favour of what he calls "Italianism." Even if St. Charles thought a very large chasuble serviceable, the Church may fairly trust to subsequent experience on such a trivial matter. The main point, of course, is one of convenience and uniformity, and an episcopate fresh from Rome naturally would not hunt up obsolete national customs, known only to antiquarians, when no living customs existed. It is equally obvious that Bishop Milner and Cardinal Wiseman must have had, in the circumstances of the times, other things to think of than the propagation of Roman vestments. But as to the con-

version of England, the mass of Protestants—like the mass of Catholics—are not likely to be influenced by questions of clothes, whatever a tiny clique of antiquarians may have to say on it. As an antiquarian or artistic question it is doubtless very interesting, and I personally think Gothic vestments very graceful; but it is really an insult to Anglicans to suggest that they will be led by considerations of such a kind on the great question "*De Ecclesiâ.*"

These are some of the causes that render the conversion of England to Catholicism a work of time. The Church has not yet had a hearing. She has lived down much misrepresentation, and she will, as time goes on, live down more, and meanwhile her sons must be content like their forefathers to work and wait. Patience and charity in controversy, quiet holiness of life, the reverent and stately worship of the Church, loyalty to the Holy See, these are the things which will eventually win for Catholics the respect of Englishmen at large, as they have won that of certain classes in the country already. But new nostrums, such as vernacular "Evensongs," and mediæval millinery, will hardly attract a single soul from among those who neither know nor care anything about vestments or liturgical services, or the mediæval Church, but who are agitated by the questions whether there is a God Who has revealed Himself; and whether there is or is not any authority on earth capable of saying what it is that God has revealed. Such minds cannot rest in Ritualism, though they may make trial of it; and they will be the more attracted to the Church when they know something of her, if she is found, as she is now to be found, quietly intent first of all on promoting the welfare of her own children by those methods which experience has so far proved to be effective.

SYDNEY H. LITTLE, M.A.

ART. VII.—THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS AT THE HEALTH EXHIBITION.

DURING the past three months the Christian Brothers* have received from the English press and public an amount of congratulation and praise, greater probably than has in recent times been extended to any other Catholic institution. This is very creditable to the Brothers, and when it is learned that the flattering outburst has been occasioned by their marked excel-

* Thus popularly called; but their full title is "Brothers of Christian Schools." They are quite distinct from the "Christian Brothers" of Ireland.

lence—not to say superiority—in both elementary, middle-class, technical, and art schools, one cannot help feeling also some surprise. Doubtless it is also surprise which has given warmth and even enthusiasm to the expressions used towards the Brothers by so many who were previously strangers even to their name. For, when one inquired, who are these "Christian Brothers," now, perhaps, first heard of, it was learned that they are a religious Institute or Order in the Catholic Church, and that the Institute was founded two hundred years ago in France. Two hundred years ago! In the matter of elementary education is not that in the pre-historic past, before the Three R.'s, and Education Codes, and School Boards? And then, too, in France! If it were but Germany now, or at least England; but France—two hundred years before M. Jules Ferry! And then, finally, when it is added that the school methods of the Brethren were originated by a man who was a priest and a saint, and that these rules have been approved by the Pope, and that the Institute is considered by the Catholic Church to be an honour to her and a powerful means of keeping her hold on the peoples, and that the Brethren in France were turned out of their schools by the present enlightened Government, and that their companions in Belgium were to have shared the same fate, the intending visitor thinks that now at last he sees what it all signifies—the Christian Brothers have surely been brought as an old-time set-off to our present advanced methods; doubtless they are introduced, like the "Old London Street" into another part of the Health Exhibition, on the *non lucendo* principle! Well, the visitor will certainly find that the Christian Brothers are put in juxtaposition, in the one case, with the large and well-arranged exhibition of the Belgian governmental system (sent before the recent change of Ministry), and, in the other case, with the scarcely less attractive room filled by the French Ministry of Instruction. Thus far the visitor's anticipations prove correct, but no farther. How the Brothers have stood the comparison in the judgment of Englishmen, we shall tell in the language of the public press, which in this instance has spoken in the same tone as the countless private visitors to the Exhibition rooms. No apology need be offered for here reproducing so much from public print, since eulogy from ourselves or from the Catholic press might easily be attributed to partiality. The *Times* of August 25 devoted a column and a half to the Brothers. Those who visited the Exhibition any time in July or August will have seen the Brother Noah to whom it makes reference. He came over from America to superintend and explain the American exhibits, other Brothers, English, Belgian and French, doing like duty for their respective collections. Of all alike it has been publicly

repeated that by their uniform courtesy and painstaking attention they won the gratitude of visitors, and did much to make their rooms known and appreciated. We cull only a sentence or two from the *Times* :—

Of all the rooms in this annexe [Technical Institute] there is certainly none more interesting than No. 5—"Noah's Ark," as the Brothers facetiously call it, after the religious (or scholastic) name of the ever-obliging and intelligent Brother in charge. In this room is contained the multifarious and well-packed collection of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Until the present exhibition, probably not above a score or two of people in England ever heard of these Brothers. . . . The distinctive features of the teaching of the Christian Brothers are its practicality and adaptability to circumstances. While the character of the education is mainly such as we call elementary and middle-class, at its best it is not surpassed by the most advanced Realschulen in Germany, and certainly not equalled all round by the most advanced middle-class schools in this country. . . . The precision and intelligence shown by the Brothers in adapting their education to the special circumstances of the pupils are unsurpassed. . . . They have, long ago, solved the problem of technical education. . . . Although in some of its characteristics the system might not commend itself to robust English Protestantism, there can be no doubt that, so far as real education goes, the Brotherhood, as a whole, are not surpassed, and in few cases equalled, as educationists.

The wonder is (says the *Pall Mall Gazette*) that the "Institute of the Christian Brothers" is not better known in this country; for it is not merely an ancient institution—it has representatives labouring in every part of the globe; while its constitution, polity, and general policy are marked by several features which, despite its denominational character, ought to commend itself to the warm sympathy of Englishmen. . . . La Salle's great aspiration was to organize a body of teachers who would labour as apostles and not as mere mercenaries; and though the stigma of "mercenary" can, by no stretch of phrase, be applied to the great mass of British teachers in the present day, it must be confessed that the almost unique self-sacrifice of the brethren in the cause of education entitles them to an exceptional place in the regard of all men and women, whatever their creed, who aim at the elevation of humanity.

The *Athenaeum* wrote no less eulogistically. Only two or three sentences can here be added to our already long extract. On July 5 it spoke of the "special and most interesting collection arranged by the Brothers," calling it "a superb collection." A month later it said :—

By the side of the collection framed under the direction of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts (of France) the Christian Brothers contribute a remarkable and valuable collection, and it is to be hoped that our School Boards and school managers will do their

utmost to help their teachers to visit these most interesting and suggestive collections. . . . Of course nearly all depends on the qualifications and fitness of the teacher, and here the ideas of La Salle, who founded the Institute in 1680, have a marked influence on all the elementary schools of France. It is true that while the Brothers' schools teach the Catholic religion (providing for the withdrawal of objectors and for the relegation of such instruction to the opening and close of school), the State communal schools are secular; but the cardinal doctrine of La Salle, that the teacher should be trained for his work, that he should be peculiarly fitted to teach and animate the young, and that he should be regarded with respect and honour, has been adopted by the State.

In similar strain wrote most of the London press; but further quotation is unnecessary. Of course we have taken the words of praise; but there are no words of disparagement to be quoted that we can remember, and the facts relating to the Brothers we prefer to tell presently in our own way. We may be permitted, however, to add a line or two from the *Saturday Review's* critique of Mrs. R. F. Wilson's volume, "The Christian Brothers: their Origin and Work," which was noticed in the *DUBLIN REVIEW* of last April.

The problems attacked and solved by La Salle are at last agitating the minds of Englishmen with a late-born zeal for elementary education. The strong points in their system were insisted on by La Salle two hundred years ago. . . . Before his time, even class-teaching was unknown, and ninety-nine children played at learning a lesson while the hundredth said it. . . . He laid down rules for the height of the desks, the situation of windows, the pictures to be hung on the walls. . . . In fact, he may be considered to have anticipated nearly all the vaunted wisdom of the School Boards, except the conscience clause.

We cannot think that after reading these specimen quotations any Catholic will feel otherwise than glad that the Christian Brothers overcame the reluctance which they as religious and men of retired lives would naturally feel to being placed in such a gathering as the present Health Exhibition; and one cannot but feel grateful to the individual Brothers who have cheerfully made a sacrifice of their time and inclinations to remain during these months at the service of all comers to their departments. The public owe the presence of the Brothers and their collections of school apparatus to the earnest requests of both His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. In acceding to such illustrious and weighty entreaty the Brotherhood has not only rendered the educational interest in this country a service, but has incidentally been the means of doing other very good and not unimportant

work. Since the day in July last, when the Prince of Wales opened the City and Guilds of London Annexe, and paid a lengthened visit to Room No. 5—accompanied, amongst others, by Mr. Mundella, who is no stranger to the work and methods of the Brothers—the stream of visitors has not ceased. Not a few naturally have come in the merest routine, the room being part of what they had paid to see, but not a few came with more serious motive, and with more or less of ability to judge critically of what was shown them. Many too—and some of these conspicuous for their high social position and influence—came purposely to study the exhibits of the Brothers. There may have been to many visitors a somewhat attractive novelty in seeing two or three Brothers in somewhat priest-like dress attending in the rooms in the character of exhibitors; but there can be no doubt that interest of a better sort has led many, or has been evoked by their visit. One instance is all we can mention here, but it is typical of countless ones which have transpired. "We have been told," exclaimed a gentleman who had made a careful study of Room 5, "that the Romish Church strives to keep people in a state of ignorance. This room is the best refutation of that statement."

It is well, perhaps, that, however briefly, some description of the contents of these Exhibition collections of the Christian Brothers should here be put on record. First, however, it will be useful to learn more particularly what was the origin of this educational religious Brotherhood, and what manner of man was its founder. There is probably not so much generally known among Catholic readers in this country about the Venerable John Baptist de la Salle as may dispense us from these references to his biographies. And perhaps still less is known concerning his children and their wide-spread and varied labours. Before our own visit to South Kensington, candour impels us to say that we fancied they were a band of very devoted—but exclusively—primary teachers: a very inadequate and mistaken idea, as soon became apparent.

At the present time the number of La Salle's spiritual sons teaching in various parts of the world makes a grand total of over 11,200 Brothers. They possess nearly twelve hundred houses of residence (in stricter figures, 1,175), and their united pupils are reckoned to amount to 328,800 boys and young men. Two-thirds of this total of scholars are in France or the French Colonies, where, as is natural—for the Institute is of French origin—the Brothers are most numerous. Their headquarters are in Paris, where resides their Superior General. He is elected by the suffrages of his brethren, and, once elected, holds office for life. At this moment the Institute is without a General; the

last one, the saintly and talented Frère Irlide died in Paris at the end of last July, and his successor is to be chosen in this present October. The composition of the Chapter which is to open on the 15th may be taken as a good illustration of the extent to which the Institute is spread over the world. The electors will be composed partly of delegates from the Home provinces—*i.e.*, into which France is divided, and partly of delegates from the “Foreign” provinces. Of these last, there will be two from the province of Algeria with Tunis, one from Cochin China, two from Réunion, Mauritius, and the Seychelles Islands, two from Rome, and two from the province of Turin, three from Belgium, and one each from the provinces of Austria, Egypt, the Levant, the East Indies, England, Montreal, New York, Saint Louis, and lastly New Mexico with California. This proportion of delegates may be taken as telling approximately the proportion of Brothers at work in the above countries. Thus there are some 550 Brothers resident in Belgium, and 700 in the United States, nearly 300 in Canada, and quite 300 in Italy, about eighty in both Spain, South America, the Levant and Austria, sixty-two in England, and over 120 in Egypt. These are statistics which gain in interest by comparison with the extent to which the Institute had grown at the time when its Venerable founder died in the year 1719. A hundred and sixty years ago, then, we find that there were altogether twenty-seven houses of residence, 270 Brothers, and a total of 9,880 scholars; figures which, singularly enough, represent the statistics of the Institute in Canada alone at the present time. The Belgium province by itself now counts twice the numbers which represented the whole strength of the Institute in 1719; yet there were no Brothers in Belgium at the date of the founder’s death, and the likelihood that they would ever go so far away as to Egypt or India, North or South America, Pagan China or even to Protestant England, would at that time have appeared improbable to the last degree.

It need hardly be remarked that the body of men in whom we are here interested is not the only Institution or Order of laymen in the Catholic Church expressly consecrated to teaching the young—quite otherwise. In France alone they are numerous, and we believe have long been, in various degrees and lines of action, successful workers. But the Christian Brothers are certainly the typical, and we fancy are the most numerous and wide-spread of such institutions, and they have the honour of being the pioneers in the work. Their founder might deservedly be entitled the Father of Elementary Education; to him, in fact, we are indebted for our system of teaching, and for, at least, the chief and most radical ideas which distinguish modern school as

distinct from University education. His pedagogic rules and maxims are full of wisdom, and remarkably in advance of his age; his organized and well-defined system serves the Brothers as effectually nowadays in their competition with Board and Communal schools as it served their forerunners in the old pre-Revolution schools of St. Sulpice. His method lends itself readily and efficiently to new demands and to varieties of national character. And in adopting their mode of action and standards of efficiency to the most recent requirements, whether of France, England, or America, the Brothers are only acting in his own spirit and the sense of his written guidance. He was ever ready to change and to invent new methods to meet new needs. Boarding-schools, reformatory schools, Sunday-schools, training colleges, night-schools—these are his innovations. He was likewise beforehand with us in the conception of those technical schools which are considered to mark such a large stride forward in English public training of to-day. He even anticipated us on another matter by starting an agricultural school, where the pupils were taught farming on a scientific basis, and to which he attached a botanical garden for growth of seeds, &c. An Inspector-General of Education in France said of him with truth, that he was “the pioneer of popular education, not only in France, but in Europe;” and, to our minds, his famous institution of St. Yon—long the mother-house of the Institute—is the cradle of “popular” education. Here, with a touch of genius, La Salle—innovating again—began the instruction of the children of the rich commercial middle-class by omitting Latin from the course. He had already omitted it from the teaching of poor children; he saw that they wanted their own mother tongue, and it only. But to omit it from the training of respectable youths, this, to the sentiment and conviction of his time, was to play Hamlet without the Prince. Latin was the beginning and middle of all culture. Even poor children had hitherto learned Latin before they were permitted to descend to French. Hence, no doubt, originated the name of Frères Ignorantins (Frères Yontains), the familiar name by which the Brothers were long known in France, for it must be remembered that these newly established religious were not only not priests, but their founder had forbidden even them, the teachers of youth, to learn Latin, as an efficacious means of preventing any of them aspiring to the priesthood. This prohibitory rule, by which the Brothers remain laymen, has great advantages. It leaves them unburdened with the daily recital of “Office,” the work of preaching, and other sacerdotal duties, free to spend their days in that to which they consecrate their talents and their strength, the drudgery and routine of school and college work.

The life of the venerable La Salle is a life full of interest for the student of educational methods ; for the Catholic it is even more interesting, as being, in addition to this, the life of a mortified and saintly man. To the serious student, of whatever creed or however creedless, his life presents a distinct and momentous problem, for any solution of which, save the Catholic one, it will be difficult to find reasonable data. We can here only give a mere passing sketch of that life ; but, therefrom, we expect the problem will be sufficiently manifest. The reading of any of the complete published lives will well repay perusal.* The cathedral city of Rheims has the honour of being his birth-place. He was born there on April 30, 1651, and was baptized on the same day, his grandfather and grandmother, singularly enough, standing his sponsors. The house in which he was born still stands. Mrs. Wilson thus describes it :—

* Of Lives written in English, that of Mrs. Wilson, already referred to, is the most recent, and it contains, too, as its title would suggest, just enough concerning the career of the Institute subsequently to La Salle's death, to put the reader in possession of the chief facts concerning the Christian Brothers. It is written by a Protestant lady, but one of that class, now familiar to us, whose sympathies and language are almost as Catholic as our own could be, but always with certain reserves. Mrs. Wilson's volume is written so that one could hardly even suspect it was not from a Catholic pen, and it is on the whole correct. There is scarcely need to add, that from a literary point of view, it is excellently done. The authoress, we may also note, is an enthusiastic admirer of the Institute and its founder.

A book of similar dimensions and purpose is "The Life and Work of the Ven. J. B. de La Salle" (by F. C. N.; New York : D. & J. Sadlier; 1878), written by a Catholic and apparently by a Christian Brother. This also is well written, and is altogether the most satisfactory book to have. A much smaller sketch, by the same pen, may also be mentioned : "The Ven. J. B. de La Salle, the true Friend of Youth." It is written for boys ; or, as the author puts it in his title-page, "specially prepared for American youth." It is beautifully printed and illustrated, and as it is published at the Brothers' Institute in Second Street, New York, those facts are worthy of being noted. Another volume, which, by its excellent get-up, reflects credit still more markedly on the boys trained by the Brothers to printing, &c., is a volume entitled "The Brothers of the Christian Schools during the War of 1870-71." From the French of J. D'Arcac. New York Catholic Protectory.

French Lives, we believe, are abundant ; we can speak of but three from personal acquaintance : the "Vie du V. J. B. de La Salle." Par un membre de son Institut. In two volumes. The full life contained in the first volume of the "Annales de l'Institut des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes," and the much smaller but excellent little volume "Le Fondateur de l'Institut, &c., sa vie, ses principes pédagogiques sa méthode, &c." Par un Ancien Directeur d'Ecole normale, Officier de l'Instruction publique. All the French books are alike procurable at Paris from the Messrs. Poussielgue Frères, and from the "Procure Générale des Frères," in the Rue Oudinot.

The traveller who visits Rheims, and amid the modern buildings of the new town looks out for the far more interesting remains of the ancient city, may observe, in the Rue de l'Arbalète, No. 4, a large old house, which bears, even in its present condition of evident decay, traces of former grandeur. A frieze, decorated with military trophies, and with a shield whose armorial bearings are defaced, runs round the house. Between two of the windows is a deeply carved stone niche, from which the statue has disappeared; on each side of the principal entrance is a half-length stone figure, life size—the one a bearded man, the other a woman. The tradition of the country is that these figures represent Adam and Eve, and were placed there by a certain Adam le Linier, a famous linen merchant of the fourteenth century. The Rue l'Arbalète, then called Rue de la Chauvrerie, was the centre of commerce for the linen manufacture of Rheims, which at that time rivalled Flanders. Passing through the archway, which forms the principal or street entrance, the traveller will find a court, which, though now disfigured by workshops, must have formed a handsome quadrangle, with an inner façade and entrance, still in perfect preservation, and approached by a double flight of stone steps. In the right-hand corner of the court may be seen a graceful circular turret, containing a winding staircase, supported by buttresses and decorated with an elaborate frieze, similar to that on the street front. A tablet recently let into the wall records the fact that Jean Baptiste de la Salle was born in this house, and it is interesting to note the size, the richness of decoration, and the general character of the building, as showing plainly the worldly position to which he was born.

His parents were both of noble descent, and, on the father's side, the line had long been distinguished by military renown. It was in keeping with the custom of the age into which La Salle was born that the boy should receive the tonsure when he was not quite eleven years old; and it merely testifies to the social position and influence of his family that he became a canon of the cathedral before he was sixteen. In this instance, however, the abuse of juvenile election brought to the ancient and illustrious Chapter of Rheims one of its greatest glories.* The young de la Salle was already filled with the ecclesiastical spirit in a measure far beyond his years. The old man, who was both his grandfather and godfather, appears to have imbued the mind of his young grandson with his own strong piety, one would almost

* The cathedral of Rheims, where for so many centuries the Kings of France were crowned, is one of the finest, and its Chapter was then one of the most highly honoured in France. The Stalls of Rheims were stepping-stones to the highest dignities in the Church. They had furnished countless bishops, no less than twenty-one cardinals, and four Popes. In La Salle's days Rheims was proudest of all, perhaps, of its St. Bruno.

think also with his aged wisdom. The young La Salle was soon a model canon, as he was afterwards a model priest. He was before long to resign his canonry for the higher life to which God was to call him, following in this, perhaps unthinkingly, the footsteps of another canon, the great St. Bruno, who left the wealth and honour attached to a stall at Rheims for the austerities and solitude of the Chartreuse. Meanwhile, young La Salle advanced steadily in his own education, taking first his degree of M.A. at Rheims, and then pursuing his theological studies, first at St. Sulpice, and afterwards as a priest in his own house, altogether for about eleven years, until, in 1681, he took his degree of D.D. with conspicuous honour. He was the eldest son, and the death of his father and mother, when he was only twenty, burdened him with the care of his younger brothers, but also left him free to follow unrestrainedly the dictates of his own piety. He loved study and quietude; and, though remarkable for his charity, love of the poor, spirit of prayer, and virtue generally, there was as yet no indication in events, nor suspicion in his own mind, of any higher or more arduous future. On the contrary, he felt neither attraction nor even inclination to the teaching of the young, if indeed the thought of himself teaching them ever suggested itself to his imagination. It may be noted that La Salle's life (he died in 1719) is nearly coterminous with the reign of Louis XIV.—the age of the Grand Monarque, illustrious for its great names in the Camp, the Court and the Church, the age of many glories, in which, however, the State was perhaps too truly the King. Conspicuous at such an epoch, for greater than human love of the poor and the neglected, stand St. Vincent de Paul and the Venerable La Salle, the fathers and friends of the people. St. Vincent had been the apostle of charity to the countless forms of bodily affliction, La Salle was destined to labour for the mind, to banish that ignorance, which, said Benedict XIII. in the Bull of approbation, "is the source of all evils, particularly in the working and poorer classes." This expression of the Pope is often quoted, and is noteworthy. It should also be borne in mind that La Salle, in his efforts for elementary education, only lent himself to a movement to improve the condition and extend the action of parochial schools which was manifesting itself and had long manifested itself in many ways and places, and which had long had the sympathy and co-operation of popes, bishops, and synods, as well as of good people in general. The State, indeed, would appear to have troubled itself little if at all about the gross ignorance of the "great unwashed"; but certainly the Church then was, and long had been, zealous in her efforts to remedy the evil. As far as she had power it may be almost said

that education was compulsory centuries ago. The Church is too often, even at the present day, mistakenly believed to have been opposed to the spread of popular education, and to be now no sincere and thorough friend of modern enlightenment. Of enlightenment and education for the people the Church was the advocate when the philosophers and philanthropists held them in horror, and it is well to remember that in States now hotly zealous for the education of the masses and against the Christian Brothers (and other similar religious teachers), the anti-clericals of a hundred years ago were equally zealous against both Brothers and the enlightenment of the masses which was aimed at in their schools. One of them, indeed, said that these teachers of the working man "were come to ruin everything." "They teach reading and writing," he wrote, "to people who ought only to learn the use of a pencil, and how to handle a file or a plane, but who will not care to work any more. . . . Amongst the working classes hardly any one need know how to read and write except those whose living depends on it."* This liberalism received the "imprimatur," of Voltaire, to whom the writer had sent his manuscript. "I think your views are sound," said the philosopher. "I am thankful that you propose to forbid working men to study. As an agriculturist myself, I beg that I may have labourers and not clerks. You might send me," he characteristically adds, "some of those 'Frères Ignorantins' to drive my ploughs or to draw them." The zealots for primary education abroad should at least respect the Brothers, and not forget that they themselves are not the first to have the people's welfare at heart. They ought, indeed, modestly to remember that they have not yet suffered for the people; the Brothers have.

But to return to La Salle. The mustard-seed of his great work came to be sown in this way. A certain charitable lady of Rouen desired to establish a school for boys in her native Rheims, and besides providing for its support she secured the services of a devout layman named Ryal to go to Rheims and teach the school. It chanced that with his customary kindness, La Salle lodged Ryal at his own house, encouraged his efforts, and occasionally also he gave his advice as to the course to be pursued. He sympathized with the effort, but also he sympathized at that time and substantially helped many good works, while his own objects in life were the care of his orphaned brothers at home,

* La Chatolais, quoted by Mrs. Wilson (at p. 5 of her "Christian Brothers"). For full details of the constant efforts of the Church for the education of the poor and working classes see Mrs. Wilson's fourth chapter, as also F. C. N.'s "Life and Work," and the large French Life.

and the duties of his canonry. Success attended Ryal's first efforts, and demands for schools came from every side. There was a crying need of good schools. Soon afterwards, however, it became apparent that this attempt was likely to fail from the very defect which had blighted countless other efforts in the same direction. The crucial difficulty in attempts at popular instruction of a more satisfactory sort had everywhere been for generations back, the procuring of good teachers. The Church in synod and council had often urgently recommended the clergy themselves to undertake the work, but for many easily understood reasons the attempt, when made, had ended in mere and ineffectual ecclesiastical supervision. The attempt to substitute laymen had, strange as it may seem to us of the present day, mostly failed. There appear to have been two chief causes of this failure. The clergy were, even if prevented or disinclined to teach a poor school, at least competent for the task by virtue of their education; but there was no provision for the training of lay teachers. The other chief cause would appear to have been the disesteem in which the drudgery of juvenile education in parochial and poor schools was held; so that when masters found they had talents for teaching and were respectable men, they went off to better themselves in private undertakings, leaving the parish children to such unfitted and strange pedagogues as surpass our present powers of conception.

The clergy were obliged to take (as masters) those who offered themselves. Sometimes it was a young fellow who had failed in his examination for holy orders; sometimes a stray lawyer, *manqué* also in his profession; or it may be a peasant with a little more learning than his neighbours, who undertook to teach the rising generation the little he knew, or the parish fiddler, who would leave his school from time to time to play at weddings or village feasts.

It is evident that, under these circumstances, there could be no security as to the personal character of the teachers, and, in fact, complaints on this head are rife all through the seventeenth century. How bad they were may be gathered from the Acts of the Synod of the Diocese of Toul in 1686, in which the bishop accuses the school-masters of his diocese of being "gamesters, drunkards, profligates, ignorant, and brutal. They spend their time in the public-houses or playing the violin in places of amusement or village feasts. In the churches they are not suitably dressed, and instead of studying Church music, they sing during the service anything that comes into their heads."*

This, doubtless, was a bad state of affairs, but need not be taken as a faithful picture of every locality at the time. But

* Mrs. Wilson's "Christian Brothers," p. 55.

there was much difficulty really felt in obtaining satisfactory masters. La Salle began, but at first quite as an outside observer, to give some attention to the young men who had been gathered together by M. Ryal, or Brother Gabriel, as he was also called. A little later on, during the frequent absences of the latter, La Salle was led by degrees to take a deeper and more sympathetic interest and part in their life, until finally the question of his own personal and intimate connection with them became a critical one. He became convinced that if he was to influence these young teachers, and cultivate a religious spirit in them, he must live with them and be one of them. He felt all the difficulties in the way of this—from family, from friends, and from his own tastes and inclinations; but having prayed long, added penance to prayer, and finally taken counsel—as was his wont all through life—he boldly crossed the Rubicon, and on St. John Baptist's Day of 1681 he took the whole company of young men into his own house. We have only to remember the period in which he lived, the position of his family, and his dignity as Canon, to understand the storm which greeted this step. A doctor of divinity, a man of birth, and a prominent member of the Cathedral Chapter to admit a lot of unlettered, poor, coarsely-clad, plebeian schoolmasters to live with him; it was slighting learning and decency, his family, and his own good name! So thought the wise ones of Rheims. But La Salle, who never explained, went on in his resolve; he did more, he resigned his stall and, bidding adieu to honours, joined himself, in dress and in fact, to the schoolmasters. It was no half measure. He made a complete dedication of himself, of his talents and life, his strength and affections, to the masters he had set himself to encourage and train, and to the advancement of their humble purpose. Then Rheims stood aghast; the good people were uneasy; his relatives stormed indignantly, while busy friends began to circulate explanations. Some said he was mad; others spitefully suggested that, Diogenes like, his assumption of poverty was only a more subtle form of pride; he wanted notoriety at any price. But once La Salle had entered on any path he was not the man to be frightened easily from it. One incident will sufficiently illustrate this. He had been delicately nurtured, fed and clad, and when he entered with the young Brothers on the severe life they were to follow in common, his more aristocratic taste entirely rebelled against the coarse dishes. The repugnance was greater than merely this: his stomach simply revolted, and ordinary efforts failed to conquer it. Many men would have given up the attempt, but La Salle literally starved himself into submission, going without any food

until the cravings of hunger made him glad to take even the coarsest dish. He conquered his inclination to sleep by a process scarcely less heroically determined. What it cost him to give up refinement and the elegant circle of friends at home, the pursuit of his favourite studies, his own privacy, his home and his family, may be more easily imagined than here described.

Schools were now opened in various localities, and they prospered ; the reputation of La Salle's schoolmasters spread abroad, and the demand for them grew. Having been trained by himself both to solid virtues and to sound methods of teaching, they well deserved the high reputation which they quickly won. He was not carried away by success ; he preferred that the work should be thorough rather than that it should be widespread. His dearest and highest aim was to convert the masters into men of deep religious convictions, and he saw that he must lead by example as well as by precept. He proceeded, therefore, to put the finishing touch to his own complete transformation into one of themselves, and this he did by the deliberate distribution of his entire fortune to the poor. Not a penny of it would he give to their and his joint work, that this last might be entirely built upon faith. Leaving his own home, they took a hired residence, and with no funds for building purposes or for their sustenance, and with no anxiety as to what they should eat or drink or wherewith they should be clothed, they went forward to do what work God should give their hands to do, consecrated to the service of the fatherless, and the poor and mainly solicitous, to keep themselves unspotted from the world. Nothing of all this was done precipitately. Distrustful of his own lights and feelings, La Salle, before any serious decision, would pray long and earnestly, fast and afflict himself, then invariably would he seek the guidance of enlightened and holy men ; but all that having been done, he followed the course dictated to him, unconscious of hesitation or fear. It has been said that no monastic institution has ever failed which had for its corner-stone faith, for its walls poverty, and for its roof modesty.* With these three virtues, La Salle was able to build up, in the teeth of a multitude of obstacles and trials, a strongly knit and (to the Catholic eye) fair-shaped institution, which, mindful of his spirit and lessons, still lives and flourishes. That his work might be sorely tried, but that it would not fail, such seems to have been his conviction when first, in 1691, with two of the brothers, and again, in 1694, with twelve companions, each one of them took the usual vows of religion, adding the consecration of himself "to teach schools gratuitously, in any place whatever, even if in order to do

* *Life*, by F. C. N., p. 73.

it he should be driven to beg, and to live on nothing but bread."

It will be anticipated that such men as these were not likely to fail in their purpose. And yet they came often enough very near to failure ; they had to encounter many avowed enemies and some false friends. Jealousy of their superior teaching and success, strange to say, often sprung up in the minds of those who had brought them to a locality ; a warm welcome was more than once followed by cold expulsion ; often enough, too, individual brothers lost courage and departed from the ranks. Or, at other times, the venerable founder would have, at cost of much labour, brought a house into a satisfactory and even flourishing condition, but, having left it for a similar task elsewhere, would soon hear of its collapse. Or, again, death would rob him of his most able and saintly disciples. In a multitude of other ways, beyond reckoning in this place, were the founder and his work tried during nearly forty years. It seems, indeed, as one reads his life, that faith a little less marvellous or zeal but a little less apostolic than his, would have certainly faltered and failed. But steadily and with unruffled calmness did he pursue the rugged and painful path of duty. With fluctuating fortune the work still steadily advanced ; slowly but surely the little seed struck root, took shape, grew apace, until at last he left it a goodly and flourishing tree. In and around Rheims the Institute first spread ; and it was here that La Salle established the first training-college for ordinary secular masters. This he did to meet, in the first instance, a demand for masters in small country places which could not support two Brothers ; for he would not expose one Brother to the dangers attending a solitary charge. Soon, however, the fame of his schools led him further abroad, and the year 1688 is to be marked as the date of the first establishment in Paris, in the parish of St. Sulpice. In Paris he was often bitterly tried ; indeed, the story of the sufferings, rebuffs, and opposition met in the French capital are a most critical and interesting portion of his educational career. Yet his ultimate success there was great and widespread. Here it was he started a Sunday-school for young artisan lads under twenty, for their instruction not only in the three R's, but in drawing, mathematics, and other branches calculated to increase their efficiency, and advance them in their various trades. From Paris, at various times and by slow steps, did his children spread themselves from one end of France to the other, northwards as far as Calais, southwards as far as Marseilles. We have said that it was not only elementary schools which La Salle founded ; he was ready to start any branch of educational work that was needed. Thus, for example, our English James II., driven by the revolution of 1688 to take

refuge in France, was followed by a number of Catholic gentlemen. La Salle was asked and accepted the task of educating some fifty of their sons, chiefly Irish youths. Of course they needed a course of studies different from that of a parochial school ; he selected Brothers to give them the instruction which he marked out as suited to their age and position.* James visited the school at *Notre Dame des Vertus* and expressed to La Salle his gratitude and admiration.

In 1703 La Salle moved his novitiate from Paris to Rouen, and thus began at the house of St. Yon, outside the city, the most famous of his many works. It afforded also a house of retreat and rest for his overworked disciples. Here he opened a boarding school for sons of the principal families of the city, giving them a course of studies, at that period, as we have already said, quite new to France ; there was to be no Latin, the time was to be devoted to useful studies. They were to be taught, besides the usual groundwork matters, and a thorough religious training, subjects connected with each pupil's future career—history, geography, natural history, hydrography, science, &c. He furnished the students with a botanical garden and a large free library. To these departments was soon added another new and separate one, a disciplinary school for refractory boys. In this he achieved such signal success that he was persuaded to add a reformatory for boys of a vicious or weak character. Thus was there established at St. Yon a novitiate, a college, a reformatory (*pension de force*), workshops, and a free school for poor children—almost everything one can think of in a modern programme, except the normal schools which he had already founded elsewhere. In so many things was his gifted mind far ahead of the times in which he lived.

More admirable, however, than his intellectual acuteness, and the touch of genius which marks all his great designs, are his spiritual gifts and heroic virtues. Or it would be more correct to say that what constitutes the characteristic and charm of La Salle's life, as one reads it, is the conspicuous union in him of many of Nature's highest gifts, with some of the rarest adornments of Grace. In him the spirit of modern activity and the spirit of the ancient Thebaid meet and blend. He is pre-eminently a man of action, a practical, far-seeing man, prudent, brave ; shrewd also and discerning—it once escaped from him, we are told by one who knew him, that he only needed half a dozen words to judge what sort of man he was dealing with. This was one side of him only ; the other shows us the medita-

* Not, as Mrs. Wilson, following some authorities, says, taking sole charge of them himself.

tive and unworldly mind of an ascetic. As a young man his preparation for receiving Holy Orders included rigorous austerities. To spend a great part of the nights in meditation, to take his short sleep on the wooden floor, and to fast absolutely from Holy Thursday to Easter Sunday—such were among his youthful practices. Such was his manner. Whatever he did, fasting or study, school-work or prayer, he did it thoroughly. This ascetic feature cannot escape notice. It puzzles a non-Catholic reader. The *Times*, for instance, good-naturedly hopes that, after all, his life was not so miserable as his biographers would make out; and this because “his genial and benevolent countenance is not that of an ascetic!” Perhaps La Salle’s views about the duty of chastising or “keeping under” his body, were very like those of St. Paul; but, in any case, are ascetics miserable? The thing would be to make the acquaintance of a sufficient number of ascetics, and then make an induction! A stubborn fact might reveal itself quite at variance with prejudices, and in opposition to very satisfactory *a priori* reasoning.

In the days in which La Salle lived there were of course no railroads—whether or not he would with saintly Father Ignatius Spencer have used the “third class” because there was no fourth, cannot be decided—but it is part of the record of his life that he left aside such conveyances as there were at the disposal of travellers and made his numerous journeys, apostle like, on foot and with staff in hand. These journeys were neither few nor over short distances; and, moreover, were oftener than not undertaken in sickness and bodily weakness. His great expedition, from Paris to Avignon and through Provence—a long journey, and in those days not without danger—was made like the rest, on foot, as was also his return home, although he was then infirm and over sixty years of age. Such an ascetic as this it will perhaps be suspected must have been a hard taskmaster, or at least too severe by his very nature, for the kindly guidance of hard-working schoolmasters. But the true ascetic is softened and sweetened, not hardened and soured, by visitations or inflictions of penance and pain. And La Salle was as tender to others as he was rigid to himself. His disciples were, however, so warmed with his own fire that he had to check and restrain their love for austerities, whilst into his rule he admitted few penitential practices which tax physical strength: for he was ever as prudent as zealous, and he was not likely to forget that he was founding not anchorets but men devoted to the labour of daily teaching. In this matter, as in so many others, he was remarkably prudent and considerate. He would not even impose on the Brothers, off-hand, the rules which he had at cost of much labour, thought, and prayer, drawn out for their guidance as well

in their domestic and spiritual lives as in their school duties. These latter rules, whether for master or pupil, continue in our day to excite the admiration of educationists and others for their wisdom, sagacity, and prudence, and because in so much they anticipate the best developments of pedagogy. He would only propose the rules as suggestions; let them have a trial; let the Brothers offer comment or correction after having given them a fair trial! This was not a man to be harsh or dogmatic, or even autocratic in tone. What wonder that he was beloved by all; that his disciples were enthusiastically devoted to him, that few even of those who met him casually could resist the charm of his personal influence!

For himself, however, there was nothing but suffering; trials and troubles changed their shape, but ceased never. Had he been indulgent to himself, he doubtless could never have weathered the storm from without. Once indeed he acknowledged that had God revealed the amount of suffering that was inevitably to come with the foundation of the Institute, his courage would have failed, or, to use his own expressive words, he would not have dared to touch it with the tips of his fingers. Not that he regretted it—far otherwise, but at the fore-vision of such a chalice human nature would have shrunk. It was very appropriate surely that this sorely-tried man, spent with labours and full of infirmities, should end the battle, as it were, with his Lord. He died on the Good Friday of 1719. He was sixty-eight—not an old man in years, but prematurely old with the long days of work and struggle and painful illness. He had laboured to the end; to the end also was he rigid with himself; to the end humble and childlike in his obedience. When Lent set in, the last Lent of his life, as was apparent enough then, he could not be induced to accept dispensations. “The victim will soon be immolated,” said he, “let it be as pure as may be.” But when the superior (the venerable man had sometime before this, and to his great joy, resigned superiorship), when the superior returned home and forbade penances and fast, the order was quietly, humbly, at once obeyed. Certainly it is not astonishing to find miracles attributed to a man of this stamp. One little incident of his stay at Marseilles* may not indeed deserve the name of miracle, but is very touching. He wished to send to Chartres a certain Brother Timothy, whose knee, recently operated on by the surgeon, gave little hope of ever healing. Said Brother Timothy, in simplicity: “Bless my knee and then

* At Marseilles, La Salle, bitterly persecuted by the Jansenists, enjoyed the affection and esteem of the saintly Mgr. de Belzunce, the “Marseilles’ good bishop” of Pope’s “Essay on Man.”

I can go." Confused enough, La Salle blessed the knee ; and his obedient son started for Chartres. Arrived there, Brother Timothy removed the bandages in order to dress the wound, when lo ! there was neither place nor trace of wound any longer to be seen. Brother Timothy was cured and felt no doubt that his ailment had disappeared at the old man's blessing. We have only to change the setting of a scene like this, and we are easily carried away to mistake it for a picture from Egypt of the far-off fourth century, illustrating some of the quaint stories handed down to us, of the simple-minded sage of the desert, Anthony or Abbot Pachomius, and their childlike disciples.

The double spirit of the prophet has descended to his disciples. A very significant indication of this truth is to be found in the character of the men who, from La Salle's death down to the quite recent death of Frère Irlide, have governed the Institute as its highest superiors. The reader who turns to their lives will be struck with the uniform combination in them of the ascetic and the practical man. One of them, the far-famed Frère Philippe, was in point of fact a second La Salle. Under his rule the Institute spread over the world with wonderful rapidity of growth. At home he multiplied schools industrial and commercial, and founded clubs for boys who had left school ; under his electrical influence, in fact, all the capabilities of La Salle's organization seems to expand with heightened vigour. But it should perhaps be said that the superiors who preceded him backwards to the great Revolution, had had no easy task to merely bring the Institute back again from that almost fatal crisis. After the wreck and ruin of that time the work of reparation was slow ; it was regrowth in a less friendly soil. The Brotherhood had many friends, but they had also many enemies. The first Napoleon who called them back again, had to say : " I cannot understand the kind of fanaticism with which some people are possessed against the Brothers. It is really prejudice. Petitions come to me from all quarters for their re-establishment. This general demand is a sufficient proof of their utility"—words which might appropriately be transferred from 1804 to 1884.

The conduct of the Christian Brothers in the war of 1870-71 deserves also a word of mention. The Brothers then, as one of their friends observed, won the veneration of the French soldiers : their love they had always had.* When the war was declared by France, Frère Philippe, the superior, was an infirm octogenary

* General the Baron Ambert. See his " brochure " " Les Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes," for a brief but touching notice of their deeds during the wars. A much longer account fills M. D'Arsac's interesting but ill-arranged volume, already named.

rian : at once, however, his patriotism and Christian charity warmed him into an activity almost youthful. He offered the Minister for War all the residences and buildings of his Institute for hospital purposes and the services of his Religious ; for his sagacious mind foreboded evil. His offer was seriously made, and events caused to be accepted, unfortunately, but too literally. The whole body of Brothers offered themselves for service—they became infirmarians, or they went to the battle-fields to bear away the wounded. In one house, as they could do nothing else, they worked for the cause by manufacturing cartridges ; in other places they kept the accounts and military rolls ; in a word their service took whatever form occasion demanded. Sometimes again a band of Brothers would pass the night after a battle digging, in the frozen fields, those deep mouthed pits into which the dead were heaped and buried. At Sedan, as elsewhere, the Brothers were under fire, and as cool as if trained to it. In many cases large numbers of wounded men, packed off from the field, owed everything to the Brothers—food, clothing, care, a bed, their recovery. The most trying service, perhaps, was one of which they had a large share—the care of dysentery, typhus, and small-pox patients. One incident alone can find place in this very hurried survey ; four days before Christmas of 1870, Paris at early morn heard the terrible noise of battle beginning at Le Bourget. A hundred and fifty Brothers pass the barrier of La Villette and make for the scene of blood, two Dominican fathers marching in their midst. They carry stretchers, bags of lint, gourds of coffee and reviving drinks, rugs and whatever is likely to be useful. They march quickly, and in silence : praying no doubt for strength. They are soon amidst the fire, the balls whistle, and one of the leading Brothers falls. He is quickly lifted on the stretcher, and another Brother takes his place. Frère Néthelme had fallen mortally wounded ; he died three days after. In Paris too the schools remained open, and each Brother took these duties in turn : one day he taught in class, the next he hastened to the battle-field. Frère Philippe was the promoter and support of every work. The French soldiers and people held the Brothers in veneration, officers on the field praised them for their bravery, the Prussians no less acknowledged their devotedness, the press all the world over lauded them.* Frère Philippe was decorated with the Cross of Honour in that very ambulance of the Rue Oudinot which had been the scene of his glorious exploits : but only when it was urged upon him that France desired to honour all his Institute in honouring him, would the humble

* We need not say that other religious bodies merited well of their country during those months of bloodshed.

man allow it to be pinned to his breast. When the officials had been bowed out, the cross had disappeared from his dress. It was never seen again.

When the English reader puts a narrative such as this side by side with the fact of the educational efficiency of such brave men, a fact now in course of solemn public acknowledgement in England, it will be hard for him, whatever his religious prejudices, to understand the ingratitude and persecution shown them during the years since 1870, by the leaders and politicians of France. If one referred to their sufferings under the Commune in Paris, it would be objected: "but the Commune was a monster, drunk if not mad; it burned even the architectural glories of the city." Yes, but the enemies of the teaching and other religious orders are only doing slow time, and with outward pretence of legality the work which when enthusiastic and thorough is branded as madness. It remains to be seen, as even English papers have pointed out, if even the material glories of society will not some day soon come to ruin in the hands of M. Paul Bert's scholars. The brothers are the *true* democrats, and ever hated by the pseudo-friends of the people. Voltaire hated them, as we have seen, because they taught the people, which is just the reason why the public men of to-day in France ought to honour them. But instead, the public men of to-day turn them out of the schools, and teach the rising generations of little Frenchmen that Voltaire was the "John the Baptist of the Revolution." Of course the religion of the Brothers is their enduring sin. It is useless to speculate as to the motives or mental complexion of men who can turn out the best masters, the crucifixes, the very name of God, and together with them all solid sanction for their own laws and for any Government, in the belief that young Republicans can be brought up to respect Nature or the State—either of which, with a capital letter, is better than God. We have the fact—and may accept it as we will—that, since the laws of 1880, from many of the "communal" schools the Brothers have already been dismissed, and that they are ultimately sure to have to go from the others. The State aid to these schools has gone to secular teachers, and a truly godless system of education, with a difference of cost to the ratepayers, which is simply enormous. The process of "laicization" of the schools, which means un-Christianizing of the scholars, is costly, as recent Budgets show.* It is costly; and so far, it has failed. Turned out of Communal Schools the Brothers have opened new free schools, supported by funds administered by Catholic Com-

* See the instructive and striking statistics in note at the end of Mrs. Wilson's volume.

mittees. The Brothers have lost very few of their scholars by the change: most parents have sent their boys after the religious instruction and training.

The visitor to the Health Exhibition Rooms will be struck with evidences there gathered of the flourishing condition of the Christian Brothers' Schools all over the world. In the Belgian collection, the most marked and interesting feature of the Brothers' exhibit is the really splendid specimens from their Art Schools at Ghent, Tournai, Liège, and Brussels. The elevations, plans, views, working drawings, &c., which fill tables and cover walls, are of surprising excellence. Their drawing method is peculiar, and is their own invention. The results are its best praise. Drawing, architecture, sculpture, modelling are included in their plan. Their free evening schools for drawing are largely attended—400 boys, we understand, attend that of St. Luke, at Ghent. The Belgian province has also three Boarding Schools, where the course is arranged to meet the various public examinations; two Training Colleges, and eighty Primary Schools. The success of their primary scholars in the competitive examinations begun in Belgium in 1849 has been very marked. They also exhibit a fine collection of textbooks of their own composition, models of machinery, numerous maps, constructed on the original system of Brother Alexis—so highly lauded by all competent judges*—also a large show of school-work, exercises, and a school-museum from Verviers, showing the stages of wool-carding and its manufacture into textile fabrics.

The Exhibits in Room No. 5 are equally interesting and illustrative of the wide-spread success of the Brothers' schools. Many of their schools in France, Egypt, Canada, and the United States are represented. There are Arabic exercises, done by the little fellows in Alexandria and Cairo, a museum from one of the schools of the Institute at Rome, and specimens of tailoring, shoemaking, chair-caning, printing and bookbinding from the Catholic Protectorate of New York, founded twenty-one years ago for training destitute children to various trades. But there would be no ending if we began to enumerate the multifarious gathering in "Noah's Ark." Everywhere are evidences that the Brothers stick to no stereo-

* We may mention—as significant—the distinctions awarded at various Exhibitions to the textbooks and educational methods of the Brothers of the Belgian Province and to the work of their pupils:—1871, LONDON, four diplomas of honour; 1872, PARIS, a silver medal; 1872, ANNECY, a silver medal; 1873, VIENNA, a medal of progress and a medal of merit; 1875, PARIS (Geog. Congress), a medal of the first class; 1876, PHILADELPHIA, a medal of merit; 1878, PARIS, three gold medals, a silver medal, and a bronze medal; 1879, BEAUVAIS, a medal of merit; 1880, LYONS, a silver medal; 1881, TERMONDE, two diplomas of honour: 1882, BRUSSELS, six silver medals; 1883, RIO JANEIRO, seven first-class diplomas, three second-class diplomas, and two honourable mentions.

typed system of ancient days, and that they are everywhere quick to adapt their system to actual needs. They have also been very successful in their Technical Schools—in those, for instance, at New York, Lyons, and Paris. At Lyons the pupils acquire such a practical knowledge of silk-weaving as enables them, on leaving school, to enter manufactories as skilled hands. In America an almost indispensable element of success, in commerce, is knowledge of shorthand, type-writing, which are now part of the Brothers' curriculum. Their agricultural school at Beauvais has a model farm attached, of 325 acres.*

Their boarding-schools and higher colleges are apparently in an equally prosperous condition. In Europe and America together the schools of this description taught by them are attended by some 23,000 students. The two American colleges, one at Manhattanville on the Hudson, and the other at Ellicot City, Maryland, may be taken as excellent specimens of their higher class colleges. Here the curriculum is framed to qualify for academical degrees and honours. At Manhattan the department of natural science receives more attention than is usual in general colleges. Its catalogue for 1882-3, now before us, shows an imposing list of alumni who have taken M.A., B.Sc., LL.D., and other degrees. Two characteristics, we may venture to say, strike one here, and seem to mark the work of this Institute in every grade of teaching, from the village school upwards, and in every land: its thoroughness and its practicalness. In this last they only follow faithfully La Salle himself. The very essence of his innovation was: instruct and train boys with a view to their position, their ability, and their future occupations. It is interesting to find that the Brothers teach every branch of their educational curricula themselves; they do not trust to hired assistance. All the Brothers therefore in France, Belgium, and England, hold certificates,—it is the *sine quâ non* of their usefulness. But there is also no doubt a movement among them, initiated by their late Superior, Frère Irlide, towards higher studies, without neglecting their more elementary ones, *e.g.*, the pursuit of science, philosophy, rhetoric, literature, is spreading. But they must move with the time, if they would keep up their influence for good. La Salle moved before the time. Several of the Brothers in the College at Clapham, we notice, are London graduates or undergraduates. One of them, Brother Potamian, is a Doctor of Science of London, and is not unknown as an electrician. He has been much before the public lately, as Dr. O'Reilly, in connection with the Educational Conferences held at the Exhibition. Lord Reay, the able chairman of the Conferences, called on three of the Brothers to

* See favourable report on it in vol. ii. p. 117, of "Report of Royal Commissioners on Technical Education."

speak, whom he placed near him—Brothers Potamian, Noah, and Alexis. We wish we could close this rapid sketch by putting on record in our pages the extent to which the collections of the Christian Brothers are to be officially honoured, but the jury awards are not yet published. That they will receive some, even of the highest awards, may almost be predicted from the nature of the case.

It should go without the saying in a Catholic Review that the first and most essential point in the educational efforts of the Christian Brothers is religion. To this great object they could not be faithless, either as enlightened Catholics or sons of La Salle. Their saintly founder understood well the difference between instruction and education. His aim was a complete training, physical, intellectual, and moral. He liked to see boys play and romp; he enjoyed their laughter and noise. "Where there is plenty of noise," he once said, "there is not much sin." He recognized the advantages of physical training. As to intellectual acquirements we have seen that he had liberal notions. But it was in his eyes of equal, nay, of vastly greater moment, to educate the moral side of a boy, to instruct him too in that religion which alone is the highest philosophy of this life, and the presage and earnest of a better; which is the only basis of happiness, the only bond of society and the State. On this topic, if there was here either need or place, much might easily be said. Nothing need be said in the face of the fact, that in the present day the struggle of the world against the Church, whether it be the struggle of force or of diplomacy, is everywhere on the battle-ground of education. In reading over the reports of the Educational Conferences, just alluded to, we note one sentence of the excellent paper by Miss Manning on "What Froebel did for Young Children," which we may be permitted to quote. "Froebel," she remarks, "saw that life was an indissoluble chain, and the first few years of that life became invested in his eyes with an importance, a dignity, and a value which, regarded in an isolated way, they cannot possess." True this, and applicable to our own case. It gives the key to the value and importance attached by the Catholic Church to her own rightful share in a child's training. Many good English people think the Church attaches an exaggerated importance to it, who, at the same time, have no sympathy with the godless blasphemies of continental pedagogues. Froebel's glance was retrospective, the Church's prospective. She sees the links of that indissoluble chain reach onwards into the space beyond the grave. The love of God (Who is still honoured and blessed in the mass of schools in England) and the conviction of her own special election to be the supreme teacher, invests the impressionable years of childhood and youth, in her eyes, with a

value that can be fully appreciated only by faith. The problem which is offered to Englishmen by the lives of La Salle and his children, and by that signal and abiding success now praised on every hand, is the query why such success as they and he achieved could be achieved only in the Catholic Church, and in her bosom, only by a Religious Order like theirs ; and it is certain that such is the case. The secret of success is not even La Salle's wisdom and his splendid system of school conduct, nor the wisdom and energy of Frère Philippe ; it is the spirit of sacrifice which makes a holocaust of every brother, from the least to the highest, and the enthusiasm which flows perennially in each heart, from the hidden springs of the life of grace and from the consciousness, the proud heritage of every Catholic, of belonging to the ancient and everlasting and indefectible Church of Christ. The Brothers' class-books and manuals and methods, have been honoured by gold and other medals, and praised as they ought to be. They are an element in their success. But no class-books will make the school. Many of the Brothers are gifted and educated men, and this also conduces to success ; but it would be poor flattery to pretend that they have any monopoly of such gifts. What gives them a power which no money can buy ? It is their faith—their Catholic faith—their asceticism, if you will. You may not dissociate their philanthropy from their "peculiar religious views ;" the one grows on the other. And they would give up anything in their system rather than jeopardize their freedom to teach the Catholic religion—as they have ever taught it—thoroughly, and as the foundation, the soul of everything else. The Christian Brother makes himself poor, cuts off all domestic ties and joys, lives at the disposition of a superior all his life, may never aim at the priesthood, lives daily before the eyes of his scholars as an example of the Christian life—and when he dies, the real secret of his influence is symbolized by the three things which in life were the sole personal property that the rule of La Salle allowed him—a crucifix, a New Testament, and an Imitation of Christ.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII.
ORDERING THE ROSARY DURING OCTOBER.

*Venerabilibus Fratribus Patriarchis Primatibus Archiepiscopis et
Episcopis Catholici orbis Universis Gratiam et Communionem
cum Apostolica sede Habentibus.*

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

SUPERIORE anno, quod singuli novistis, per litteras Nostras Encyclicas decrevimus, ut in omnibus catholici orbis partibus, ad caeleste praesidium laboranti Ecclesiae impetrandum, magna Dei Mater sanctissimo Rosarii ritu, Octobri toto, coleretur. In quo et iudicium Nostrum et exempla sequuti sumus Decessorum Nostrorum, qui difficillimus Ecclesiae temporibus aucto pietatis studio ad augustam Virginem confugere, opemque eius summis precibus implorare consueverunt. Voluntati vero illi Nostrae tanta animorum alacritate et concordia ubique locorum obtemperatum est, ut luculenter apparuerit quantus religionis et pietatis ardor exstet in populo christiano, et quantum in caelesti Mariae Virginis patrocinio spem universi reponant. Quem quidem declaratae pietatis et fidei fervorem Nos, tanta molestiarum et malorum mole gravatos, non mediocri consolatione lenisse profitemur, imo animum addidisse ad graviora quoque, si ita Deo placeat preferenda. Donec enim spiritus precum effunditur super dominum David et super habitatores Ierusalem, in spem certam adducimur, fore ut aliquando propitietur Deus, Ecclesiaeque suae miseratus vicem, audiat tandem preces obsecrantium per Eam, quam ipse caelestium gratiarum voluit esse administrum.

Quapropter insidentibus causis, quae Nos ad publicam pietatem extitandam uti diximus, anno superiore impulerunt, officii Nostrri duximus, Venerabiles Fratres, hoc quoque anno hortari populos christianos, ut in huiusmodi precandi ratione et formula, quae *Rosarium Mariale* dicitur, perseverantes, sibi validum magnae Dei Genitricis patrocinium demereantur. Cum enim in oppugnatoribus christiani nominis tanta sit obstinatio propositi, in propugnatoribus non minorem esse oportet constantiam voluntatis, quum praesertim caeleste auxilium et collata nobis a Deo beneficia, perseverantiae nostrae saepe soleant esse fructus. Ac revocare iuvat in mentem: magnae illius Iudith exemplum, quae almae Virginis typum exhibens stultam Iudeorum repressit impatiens, constituere Deo volentium arbitrio suo diem ad subveniendum oppressae civitati. Intuendum item in exemplum Apostolorum, qui maximum Spiritus Paracliti donum sibi promissum expectaverunt, perseverantes unanimiter in oratione cum Maria Matre Iesu. Agitur enim et nunc de ardua ac magni momenti re, de inimico antiquo et vafermo in elata potentiae suae acie humiliando; de Ecclesiae eiusque Capitis

libertate vindicanda; de iis conservandis tuendisque praesidiis in quibus conquiescere oportet securitatem et salutem humanae societatis. Curandum est igitur, ut luctuosis hisce Ecclesiae temporibus Marialis Rosarii sanctissima consuetudo studiose pieque servetur, eo praecipue quod huiusmodi preces cum ita sint compositae ut omnia ex ordine salutis nostrae mysteria recolant, maxime sunt ad fovendum pietatis spiritum comparatae.

Et ad Italiam quod attinet, potentissimae Virginis praesidium nunc maxime per Rosarii preces implorare necesse est, quum nobis adsit potius, quam impendeat, nec opinata calamitas. Asiana enim lues terminos, quos natura posuisse videbatur, Deo volente, praetervecta, portus Gallici sinus celeberrimos, ac finitimas exinde Italiae regiones pervasit. Ad Mariam igitur confugiendo est, ad eam, quam iure meritoque salutiferam, opifera, sospitatrix appellat Ecclesia, uti volens propitia opem acceptissimis sibi precibus imploratam afferat impuramque luem a nobis longe depellat.

Quapropter adventante iam mense Octobri, quo mense sacra solemnia Mariae Virginis a Rosario in orbe catholico aguntur, omnia ea, quae praeterito anno praeceperimus, hoc anno iterum praecipere statuimus. Decernimus itaque et mandamus, ut a prima die Octobris ad secundam consequentis Novembribus in omnibus curialibus templis, sacrariisve publicis Deiparae dicatis, aut in aliis etiam arbitrio Ordinarii eligendis, quinque saltem Rosarii decades, adiectis Litaniis, quotidie recitentur: quod si mane fiat, sacrum inter preces peragatur; si pomeridianis horis, Sacramentum augustum ad adorandum proponatur, deinde qui intersunt rite lustrentur. Optamus autem, ut Sodalitates Sanctissimi Rosarii solemnem pompam, ubique per civiles leges id sinitur, vicatim publicae religionis causa ducant.

Ut vero christiana pietati caelestes Ecclesiae thesauri recludantur, Indulgentias singulas, quas superiore anno largiti sumus, renovamus. Omnibus videlicet qui statis diebus publicae Rosarii recitationi interfuerint, et ad mentem Nostram oraverint, et his pariter qui legitima causa impediti privatum haec egerint, septem annorum itemque septem quadragenarum apud Deum indulgentiam singulis vicibus concedimus. Eis vero qui supra dicto tempore decies saltem vel publice in templis, vel iustis de causis inter domesticos parientes eadem peregerint, et criminum confessione expiati sancta de altari libaverint, plenaria admissorum veniam de Ecclesiae thesauro impertimus. Plenissimam hanc admissorum veniam et poenarum remissionem his omnibus etiam largimur, qui vel ipso beatae Virginis a Rosario die festo, vel quolibet ex octo insequentibus, animi sordes eluerint et divina convivia sancte celebraverint, et pariter ad mentem Nostram in aliqua sacra aede Deo et sanctissimae eius Matri supplicaverint.

Iis denique consultum volentes qui ruri vivunt et agri cultione, praecipue octobri mense, distinentur, concedimus ut singula, quae supra decrevimus, cum sacris etiam indulgentiis octobri mense lucrandis, ad insequentes vel novembribus vel decembribus menses, prudenti Ordinariorum arbitrio differri valeant.

Non dubitamus, Venerabiles Fratres, quin curis hisce Nostris uberes

et copiosi fructus respondeant, praesertim si quae Nos plantamus, et vestra sollicitudo rigaverit, iis Deus gratiarum suarum largitione de caelo afferat incrementum. Pro certo quidem habemus populum christianum futurum dicto audientem Apostolicae auctoritati Nostrae eo fidei et pietatis fervore, cuius praeterito anno amplissimum dedit documentum. Caelestis autem Patrona per Rosarii preces invocata adsit propitia, efficiatque, ut sublatis opinionum dissidiis et re christiana in universis orbis terrarum partibus restituta, optatam Ecclesiae tranquillitatem a Deo impetremus. Cuius auspicem beneficii, Vobis et Clero vestro, et populis vestrae curae concreditis Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xxx Augusti MDCCCLXXXIV,
Pontificatus Nostri Anno Septimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

Science Notices.

The British Association.—The meeting of 1884 will long be remembered in the annals of the Association. When the Committee in 1883 decided to hold their next meeting in Montreal, there were not a few voices raised in remonstrance against such a decision. It is pleasant to find that the grumblers have been thoroughly out of their reckoning. The Canadian meeting has been a great success, a success so striking as to mark the fifty-fourth meeting of the Association with a red letter in the calendar. It is not to be denied that the social side of the affair has had much to do with making things pass off so pleasantly. The Canadians are a warm-hearted race, and amongst our colonists are distinguished for their attachment to the mother country. It is only natural that a warm and enthusiastic welcome should greet the first meeting of the Association outside the boundaries of Great Britain. On the other hand, no one calculated on 800 members facing the discomforts and perils of waters to be present at the meeting. Nor could the presence of such veteran scientists as Professor Adams, the discoverer of Neptune, Professor Asa Gray, the great botanist of America, Lieut. Greely, fresh from his Arctic dangers, fail to give more than usual interest to the sections they patronized. It was only natural, therefore, that Lord Lansdowne in his warm speech of welcome should declare:—“We feel that one more step has been taken towards the establishment of that closer intimacy between the mother country and her offspring, which both here and at home all good citizens of the empire are determined to promote.”

The Association has been slowly but steadily departing from its original object—the advancement of science. Cynics are only too ready to point it out, and urge the happy despatch. But there is no need to complain. The earlier functions of the Society have now been taken up by hundreds of special societies, who are holding their meetings all the year round. Granted that the Association is now popularizing science “by picnic,” it is doing very meritorious work. The Society continues to grow steadily in popular favour, and that shows it is responding to some real demand.

Lord Rayleigh in his address dealt at considerable length on the ultimate constitution and interaction of atoms, and both he and Sir W. Thompson are of opinion that we are on the eve of some important discoveries concerning those mysterious molecules that baffle all chemical analysis. Professor Lodge read a paper on his researches on “Dust,” to which we drew the attention of our readers in the July number of this REVIEW. The lecture was warmly received; but the

Canadians must have been edified to learn that in the investigations of pure science there are such charms that many English scientists cheerfully forego a fortune that they could easily make by turning their researches to practical account.

The Biological Section was greatly excited by the announcement of a discovery by a Mr. Caldwell from America. In simple English it amounts to this—that evolutionists in future must trace the pedigree of man and the mammals, not through the amphibians as heretofore, but through the reptiles. The Geological Section was again fortunate in securing a lion in the person of Lieut. Greely. It must have been a disappointment to many that the explorer declined to say a word on the thrilling and terrible hardships he had gone through. His paper was a mere record of his scientific observations and discoveries. As we shall refer to it later on, there is no need to make any remarks on it at present. We looked forward with no little interest to the newly created section of Anthropology, and to the address of one who bears so honoured a name as the President, Mr. Tylor. It was, however, a little disappointing. His thoughts naturally turned to the complicated question of the ancestry of the North American Indian. He had no difficulty in pointing out the numerous relations between the Aztecs and the Hindoos. But he told us little that we had not learned years ago from Cardinal Wiseman's Lectures on the Relation between Science and Religion.

The meeting has broken up amidst the warmest expressions of regret from the Canadians. In fact, the whole Dominion has been not a little excited by the presence of the Association in their midst, and their cities are vying with each other in courtesies to their guests. The happiest social, if not scientific, results are likely to flow from the meeting of 1884.

Arctic Exploration.—In our April number we drew attention to the relief expedition that was being equipped for the rescue of Lieut. Greely and his party. For two years no news had been received of the American Expedition, and we feared that the Polar Moloch had claimed another batch of victims. It is pleasant to relate that the relieving party were just in the nick of time to save the twenty-five brave explorers from a horrible death. No sensational writer could have planned a more timely succour than really and actually took place when the crews of the *Bear* and the *Thetis* discovered Lieutenant Greely reading the burial service over his companions. Nineteen had already perished, and the remaining six had given up all earthly hope and were preparing for death. According to Commander Schley, who deserves the highest praise for the determination with which he pushed onwards, “forty-eight hours’ delay in reaching them would have been fatal to them all.” There remains an ugly charge of cannibalism against the survivors. So far Lieut. Greely has not deigned to notice the accusation; he evidently considers that such a charge in the minds of scientific men falls by its own inherent gravity. We readily believe it, but the terrible privations and sufferings of the crew will not be readily effaced from the public mind.

And now what is the sum total of the results to science from this expedition, commonly reputed to be one of the most successful? A warm current from the direction of the Pole, a little more extended knowledge of the glaciers that choke the fjords of Greenland. Lieut. Lockwood saw the dim outline of a cape not previously explored, and geographers will be able to throw into their maps a few shadowy lines of regions which for the general purposes of mankind are utterly useless. "The distinguishing work of the expedition," says the *Scientific American*, "that which will perhaps give it most fame, is thus announced by Lieut. Greely. For the first time for three centuries England yields the honour of farthest North." The question may surely be admitted: Is the loss of nineteen lives and the loss of health to six others worth these flimsy discoveries? We cannot but repeat our opinion: Most certainly not. The Greely expedition is the last of those planned by the International Polar Association, to whose proceedings we drew attention in this REVIEW in April 1883. We could not but animadver^t then on the mad and almost criminal risks that the Association was preparing for brave men. We hardly expected our anticipations would be so tragically fulfilled, and that so valuable a treasure of lives would be sacrificed to the high-sounding project. In the meantime it is some little comfort to hear from America that the people are so disgusted with the fate of their last expedition, that they are determined that no more shall sail from American shores.

Aeronautics.—If we are to believe the French newspapers, MM. Renards and Krebs have succeeded in the task of navigating a balloon. A successful ascent was made, and the aéronauts seemed to have the machine under control. It should be remembered that this was done in calm weather. It is surely physically impossible that so large and so fragile a surface as a balloon could make head against a strong breeze without immediate danger of being torn to pieces. It is pretty well agreed that if man is to solve the problem of flying, it will not be upon any application of the principle of the balloon. There are generally given four conditions for aërial flight—buoyancy, extent of supporting surface, propulsion, and ascending power. Although the balloon fulfils two of the conditions, and those apparently the most difficult—viz., buoyancy and power of ascent—the perfect hopelessness of propelling the balloon in the teeth of a wind renders it useless for the purpose in hand. Borelli in his treatise *De Motu Animantium* endeavours to prove that it is a physical impossibility for man to fly. He compares the breast muscles of man with those of birds, and finds man in this department relatively so weak as to render it impossible that he should ever flap wings like a bird, or the popular idea of an angel. But it is not impossible that man might bring into play other muscles than those of the breast to work his wings. Besnier contrived an arrangement by which both arms and legs were engaged in agitating his wings. He was so far successful that though he could not raise himself in the air, he could by taking a run succeed in supporting himself for a time. He is even said to

have crossed by this means a river of considerable breadth. Mr. Spenser, the great gymnast, is able, by running sharply down an incline, to leap into the air and support himself for a distance of about 120 feet. But aéronauts are now devoting themselves to experiments and observations. The time for machine construction has not yet arrived. At present the Aéronautical Society is engaged in observing the supporting power of air on bodies of different shape and weight propelled at varying velocities. They are by no means without hope that a flying machine may some day be constructed.

Meteorology.—The most important discovery in this branch that has occurred for many years has just been published by M. Montigny, of Belgium. He has been for some time studying the question of the scintillation of the fixed stars, and his results enabled him to prophesy at the beginning of the present year that the rainfall would be below the average during the summer. He has constructed a beautiful instrument called the scintillometer, which has enabled him to formulate some very remarkable laws, both astronomical and meteorological. With the latter we are only concerned at present. The appearance of the stars in the scintillometer is a very accurate indication of the coming weather. In calm settled weather the trace of the star is sharp and regular. In storms of wind and rain it becomes fringed and broken, and the scintillation changes on the approach of atmospheric disturbances. The aurora produces the same effect as a storm, while violent scintillations and magnetic storms are quite coincident in point of time.

It is curious that certain colours appear in the scintillometer with varying degrees of intensity. During the five seasons that preceded the year 1876 *green* was the predominant tint. For the last seven years *blue* has taken the lead. When M. Montigny saw the *green* reappear in 1883 he ventured to forecast the return of better weather. This year the *green* tint has been most characteristic and more persistent than in any former year. Moreover, the *violet*—another colour that accompanied the fine seasons—has this year reappeared. M. Montigny wrote in the spring of this year :—

The return of the same indications authorizes me to renew the same forecast for the present year that I published last year, that rain will be less frequent and copious than in the six years preceding 1883. I think I may venture to extend this conjecture to the coming seasons, and believe that we have now happily passed out of the rainy years that commenced in 1876, and that we have returned into a series of fine seasons, or at least more regular in the matter of rainfall.

We have hopes that many important results will be derived from the labours of the Belgian astronomer.

Prehistoric Finds.—The existence of crannoges in the south of Scotland has been ascertained for some time past, but recent researches by Mr. Wood and others has brought to light a number of these lake-dwellings strewn profusely in the counties of Wigtownshire, Kirkcudbright, and Ayrshire. The number is quite extraordinary, and wherever a marsh or loch has been drained these knolls or islands are sure to

make their appearance. The researches hitherto conducted do not seem to have resulted in the finding of any great treasures. The Ayrshire folk seem to have been most prosperous and advanced, for the crannoges of this district have not only yielded weapons of iron and bronze but ornaments of gold. The number of piles used in the construction of these islets is something extraordinary. A very small one will require at least three thousand piles of wood. The surface of the land must have undergone much change since their construction, for the district around is now a bare plain where a tree of any importance is an exception. These piles when taken from the soil were soft and easy to cut away, with the exception of the oak beams, which are as tough now as when they were sunk. As to their age, we should say, judging from the nature of the finds, that they date from the neolithic times down to the early dawn of Christianity in Scotland. For in the Ayrshire crannoges there were found, not only stone celts but ornamental crosses of jet, the relics of the Christian faith.

A remarkable discovery of ancient cave-dwelling has been made near Royal Tara in Ireland. Some workmen were digging for gravel, and having laid bare the side of a hill they suddenly uncovered what was evidently an old cave-dwelling. It was shaped like a beehive, about ten feet in height, with the roughest and rudest of masonry around the walls. This communicated with another chamber of smaller dimensions but of similar construction, and there is no doubt that other chambers will be discovered when some of the abundant *débris* is removed. The strangest part of these holes is their distance beneath the soil, for above them lie undisturbed layers of fine sand, gravel, loose gravel sand, and finally the sod. The deposit of these layers would require a very large period of time to effect. It is not safe, however, to venture upon any conjecture of this kind until we learn a little more of the surface of the surrounding country.

A similar series of caves, the Penn Pitts, on the confines of Somersetshire and Wiltshire, has long been a bone of contention among archaeologists. Some profess to see nothing more in them than old gravel-pits; others regard them as ancient British dwellings. The latter theory has lately received confirmation from the ingenious discovery of Mr. Kerslake. He had long been puzzled to find the site of the city mentioned in the old Nennian Catalogue as Caer Pensaelcoit. The "Caer" was simple enough, and the final syllable "coit," he argued, must surely be the equivalent of the Welsh "coed," a wood. The next step was to find a place bearing a name resembling Pensaelwood. This, after all, was not so difficult, as the village hard by the Penn Pitts has been known from time immemorial as Penselwood. It would seem almost certain, then, that the Penn Pitts is the site of the old British fortress of Caer Pensaelcoit.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Juillet, 1884.

ROME in the Fourth Century, from the Poems of Prudentius." This article is a sequel to the one by the same author, M. Paul Allard, of which we gave a brief *résumé* last quarter. "To complete that picture," we here read, "it remains for us to ask the poet to show us the frame, as it were, of it—that is to say, to describe, from his clear personal reminiscences, that strange Rome of the fourth century, in which the monuments of the two religions that still divided men's worship rivalled each other in grandeur and beauty. The writings of Prudentius contain numerous details valuable to both artist and archæologist. Indeed, it is easy to draw from them a picture, perhaps not complete, but living and picturesque, of Pagan, Christian, and subterranean Rome of that date." This is the theme of M. Allard's pleasant and instructive study, the working out of which is so dependent on extracts from Prudentius, that though intensely interesting, it scarcely lends itself to a *précis*.

We can anticipate how the Christian poet will regard the paganism of the city; yet he was not insensible to the beauties of that art towards which the Christian Emperors were so tolerant; and the magnificence of the city had deeply impressed him. He was enthusiastic about "aurea Roma," "pulcherrima Roma," so that his style is imbued with his impressions, and, like those Venetian painters, who mixed their doges and patricians into Bible and Gospel scenes, he introduces everywhere something Roman! Even when he describes Sodom we have the tribunal and forum, the baths, shops, temples, theatres, "madidasque popinas" of Rome; and his Pharaoh's soldiers marching to the Red Sea are legionaries from Trajan's column! We need scarcely add that the second and third portions of this article, which are concerned with the Christian city (churches, art decoration, &c.) and its catacombs, coming from the pen of M. Allard, are well done, full of minute detail, and easy, pleasant reading.

"The more Ancient Greek MSS. of the New Testament: their Origin and true Character," the next article in this number of the *Revue*, well deserves mention. It is by the Abbé Martin, the well-known learned professor in the theological "Ecole Supérieure," as one must now say, at Paris. The Abbé puts forth in this article a theory regarding the ancient codices which, if it should prevail among scholars, will certainly make an epoch—perhaps rather a counter-revolution—in "textual criticism." He pulls down the idols of codices N, A, B, C, and D from their present high places, and restores

to the "textus receptus" its former pre-eminence, even re-claiming for it the title of greater antiquity.

It is well known, he says, that from Beza to Griesbach all that critics dared do was to give the readings of the codices Ephrem, Paris, Rome and the rest, as variations on the received text. Now, the traditional text is placed on one side and preference given to those anonymous codices just named, by all the great textual critics—Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, and Hort and Westcott. Hence it comes to pass that on the one hand are ranged the great mass of biblical documents, Fathers, versions, and manuscripts; and on the other a small group of dissidents, but a group made up of the most ancient known MSS., A, B, C, D, and the Sinaitic, and together with these five uncials, some fifteen cursives. One is a minority, the other an overwhelming majority as to quantity: does the great difference in quality reverse the balance? The Abbé Martin emphatically answers no. He has several preliminary reasons for thus going, in this reply, in the teeth of such scholars as have just been named. Why should the traditional text, being, as it is, so copiously supported by MSS. which differ so slightly, if at all, from one another, and further confirmed on the whole by the Fathers and the versions, be set aside for a few codices which, however ancient, are marked by great differences, even by contradictions of one another? Perhaps, if the mere age of the codex were the only thing, this consideration would prevail, but—and this complicates matters—the smaller group are not only the most ancient known manuscripts, but they are patronized by Origen. Their readings may vary, but curiously enough these readings are to be found in Origen. And if Origen in the third century knew the readings of these MSS., and accepted their text, that text is more ancient than Origen, and it is difficult not to push its antiquity into apostolic times. This union of Origen with these ancient MSS. should not destroy the authority of the traditional text for scholars—that is, on merely critical grounds: the Abbé shows why. But he acknowledges that, if accepted, it would deal that text a serious blow. He then proceeds to point out the difficult problems which the "partisans of Origen and the ancient MSS." have to solve; how, namely, their text, supported by Origen, could have become fifty or a hundred years later the traditional text—a text essentially *one*, and continuing one from the fourth century till now. How—and here the difficulty grows—explain the way in which from the third to the fourth centuries the Church substituted, or accepted the substitution of, one text for the other. Where is the record or the fame of it? Further, however, the partisans of the traditional text have their problem, and that not an easy one, to solve. How came it to pass, if the Church used the traditional text in the second and third centuries, that such recensions as that of the Alexandrian, &c. (A, B, C, D, &c.), were current in the Church in Origen's day? The author notes here that the problems on either side are indeed difficult, but not to the same extent; and on the supposition that no solution were forthcoming, yet he who knows the Church (not of course by faith in her divine custody

of the Scriptures, but merely as a student of history, having learned her spirit, laws, and *modus agendi*), would not hesitate to conclude the absolute impossibility of one text having been substituted for another. So that he would not hesitate to side with the traditional text and the Church of the fourth century, with its Eusebius, Cyril, Basil, Gregory, Chrysostom, and Epiphanius.

Now, the Abbé passes on to give an explanation, a new one, at which he has arrived after long and tedious labour, of the agreement between Origen and the few oldest MSS. Origen quotes the recensions represented by these five oldest uncials; such has been the contention hitherto. The Abbé Martin denies it; on the contrary, he contends, the Vatican, Sinaitic, &c., have been corrected or revised on Origen (*revus sur Origène*)—quite another matter. That is, in other words, their text is after Origen, not Origen after them. The older hypothesis, he acknowledges, seems the more natural, indeed he began and continued his researches with it, and relates how the contrary opinion forced itself on him. When Origen wrote he had no such MS. as the Vatican or Sinaitic in his hand, but the editors of the Vatican and Sinaitic copied Origen. And these much famed codices (N, A, B, C, D) contain a text that were knowingly fabricated, and are of small critical worth. How Origen can be made responsible for a variety of readings is shown; it is well known that he, like so many of the Greeks, quoted loosely and in a way we should consider unpardonable. The few codices which have been the support of the textual critics, contain an “eclectic text,” the elements having been gathered from the writings of the Fathers. “It is certain that the editor (*éditeur*) of the *Codex Beza* knew the writings of Eusebius of Cesaræa, and made use of them; but it is possible also that he consulted passages of S. Cyril of Jerusalem and S. Epiphanius. It may be suspected that the Vatican, and still more the Sinaitic, have taken some of their readings from Eusebius, Cyril, and Epiphanius, and we do not despair of one day being able to establish clearly this important point.” Further, the Abbé shows that these “most ancient MSS.” are, without any doubt, not earlier than the end of the fourth century, and that they originated in the movement marked by the sudden and prodigious development of the religious life, the mixture in religious houses of Latins, Greeks, Syrians, and Egyptians, and that passionate study of the Holy Scripture which led to a comparison of versions and criticism of texts; they are in fact merely *collectanea* of variant readings, which probably owe their preservation to the fact that they got stuck aside in libraries, because they could not be used in church offices, since they did not contain a church or official text, but “un texte électique, fabriqué de pièces de rapport:” they rarely if ever got on to the pulpit or lectern, “precisely the thing which rapidly wears a manuscript.” For the same reason these MSS. contain no liturgical notation. The Abbé suspects Rufinus—one of Origen’s “traducteurs infidèles”—of being one of those critics to whom we owe these eclectic recensions, the Sinaitic, Vatican, and the rest: nay, he is not without hope that further researches may justify this conjecture. For details and

proofs of all these points the article must be consulted. The Abbé Martin, we are glad to see, promises that a volume shall shortly appear, treating his theory at length.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 16 Agosto.

Modern Parliamentarianism.

NO sooner had the "Onorevoli" of Montecitorio returned to their homes for the summer vacation than the journals of every shade of political opinion began to raise an outcry against them, not to speak of the mutual reproaches which have been heard from some members of their own body. A correspondent of the *Perseveranza* writes, on the last day of their sitting, that there is a general persuasion that neither Deputies nor Ministry have done or are in a position to do their duty towards the country, and that the decadence of political institutions, whether its causes be temporary or permanent, is itself undeniable. The *Tribuno* draws the darkest picture of the National Representation, which it considers has for two years past been dragging on a weak and anaemic existence, and it intimates to the adherents of Depretis, that the sole remedy for all evils is to pull down from top to bottom what they have hitherto built up, to discard those judgments which experience has already shown to be erroneous, to break through every tie of personal government, and restore the Chamber and parties to their normal functions; otherwise, it says, "our Parliamentarianism cannot be saved from total ruin;" nor will the discredit be avoided which in the eyes of superficial observers of political phenomena will rebound to those popular institutions which are sacred to all. The *Diritto* even, which is reckoned an official journal, has recently said that striking symptoms of the bad state of the Parliament are of such frequent occurrence that it is not worth the trouble of counting them, but that they all point to a future full of grave warnings for the Government, if not for the country. With regard to the Senate, which has to pass in an undignified hurry and without discussion the most important laws at the close of the session, it observes that the people will be led to ask what office that body discharges in the mechanical constitution of the kingdom, if it so cheaply estimates its own prerogatives and decorum.

It can but be distasteful to the men of the Revolution that disenchanted populations should begin to rail at those precious *Institutions* which were created for their own special use, institutions which may be summed up in the machinery of the Parliamentary system, or, in other words, in *Parliamentarianism*. In the present day this system, which is their palladium, is working very ill, and producing very bad effects; this they do not deny. Nevertheless, they must still perforce laud the system itself up to the skies, as the *ne plus ultra* of political wisdom. Not all Liberals, however, will endorse such a palpable contradiction,

and the reviewer congratulates Signor Bonghi for having lately come out in the *Nuova Antologia* with an article of searching examination into the merits of the Parliamentary régime, though he says that more reliance could have been placed on him had he not appeared so late in the field. The decadence of Parliamentarianism is now so generally felt and confessed throughout Europe, that it does not require heroic courage to stand up and do battle with it. However, Bonghi says much that is worth noting. He begins by remarking that the defects of the Parliamentary system, which have been gradually discovered, are clearly not accidental but essential to it. They are, he says, its "necessary shadow." It belongs evidently to this form of government, that the half, *plus* one, of the elected deputies can change its direction. This premised, he considers it under its two chief aspects: first, in the body of its electors, and afterwards in that of the elected. Whatever may be the conditions of the electoral suffrage, it will follow that a considerable minority of the electors who belong to the losing party, to whom may be added the multitude of those who for one reason or another, often for very good reasons, abstain from voting at all (this is peculiarly the case in Italy), will regard the elected deputies as incapable of representing their interests or those of the nation, as understood by them. Moreover, the majority itself which sends the deputies to the Chamber is, thanks to electoral manœuvring, the mere tool of a few agitators, voting for it knows not whom, and would not like if it did know. A profound moral servitude has thus sprung from liberty, and the worst of tyrannies through the means taken to destroy tyranny. In consequence of all this, Bonghi says that not only do the elected deputies not represent the totality of voters, but not even the totality of those who voted for them; in fact, only a part of them, probably only those who managed the election.

In the Chamber things fare no better. The first object is to form a Government, and this necessitates the members grouping themselves together so as to insure the half *plus* one needful for keeping any Government on its legs. It is in the nature of the Parliamentary régime, then, to form parties, one of which is the governing party, but it must not be inferred that that party actually commands the majority of the Chamber. It would be more correct to say that it governs the majority of the majority, that is, in very truth, the minor portion of the whole Chamber; for although, as Bonghi says, the governing party has a majority of supporters, it by no means follows that they all represent it, nay, it is often more than probable that they do not, and in these cases, the governing party, so far from representing the majority of the Chamber—that is, representing what it thinks, supposing it thinks anything—represents the very contrary. And this, he adds, is often seen, and has been seen quite recently. Some Liberals would lay the blame chiefly on the country, but Bonghi will not agree to this, but holds the Parliamentary régime as mainly, though not wholly, responsible for this vicious state of things. Presuming itself to be representative, while in fact precluding all genuine representation, it has placed society as regards its rulers in a position at once

contradictory and hostile. But why, asks the reviewer, has Bonghi so long delayed saying what Catholic writers—those of the *Civiltà Cattolica* included—have been drawing attention to for years? And why, when they said the same things in far more moderate terms, were they denounced by the Liberals as enemies of their country, traitors, parricides? Now, when these very men, deputies, senators, journalists, break forth in the most unmeasured and contumelious attacks upon Parliamentarianism such as Catholics never indulged in, they are applauded as sincere patriots and lovers of the truth.

And here the reviewer desires to draw attention to the important fact that, while severely criticising modern Parliamentary forms, they have always been careful to add that *in themselves* these forms might be turned to good account by Catholic Governments, and their evil tendencies counteracted, since the spirit of the governors rather than the system of government was in all times the cause of the prosperity or misery of subjects. The Catholic Church has accordingly accommodated itself to all forms of government which have prevailed, requiring no more from rulers than the recognition of its authority, and of the supernatural order revealed by God and committed to its keeping. Catholics, then, are not moved to oppose modern Parliamentarianism either from political antipathy or from party motives, still less from sectarian animosity; the real reason of their opposition is to be sought in the anti-Christian origin of this modern Parliamentarianism, sprung as it is from a revolt against revealed faith, and also in the principle upon which it is based and turns, *viz.*, man's absolute independence of God, and consequently of all authority. In this principle, which was laid down in 1879, constituting as it does the negation, not of Christianity alone, but of natural reason, we Catholics perceive the fatal root whence are necessarily derived the social disorders resulting from Parliamentarianism, now deplored by Bonghi and other Liberals. Bonghi says, indeed, that modern Parliamentarianism leads to lying, injustice, and tyranny; but he either does not see, or has not the courage to confess, that all this is owing to the fundamental principle both of Parliamentarianism and, in general, of so-called modern civilization; this principle being man's entire independence. The moment the principle is laid down that men may think and judge as they please, act according to their own notions, do good just as they understand it, and indulge all the tastes and inclinations to which their nature disposes them, there is an end, properly speaking, of human society. Society, in fact, resolves itself into atoms; and, in order to impart to them such unity as is essentially constitutive of order and life, it is necessary to compel these atoms to cohere, not through their own nature, but by some mechanism of art and by an arbitrary act of man's will. Human society thus held together has the name without the reality. Civil society itself is reduced to being a juridical fiction: *fictio juris*. Parliament, which is reckoned to represent such a society, is another similar fiction, or, rather, it is worse; for, as Bonghi proves, it does not represent the country which is supposed to elect it, and it is therefore not only a fiction but a lie.

Injustice necessarily follows. To instance one mode in which it manifests itself, and which presupposes numberless others: every benefit, every interest, is sacrificed to the benefit and interest of the ruling party, which is holding office and desires to keep it; in other words, political utility holds the place of everything in the Parliamentary system. That is made the measure of all things—religion, virtue, public faith and credit, loyalty. In accordance with this political utility, the laws are made and unmade, justice administered, and the ears are opened or closed, as it may be, to the complaints of the governed. Hence opportunism, as it is called, rules instead of truth and right. In the stagnant and pestilential quagmire of politics all that is great, good, energetic, noble dies. Political utilitarianism corrupts and suffocates all. Since, however, every Government is esteemed by the people in proportion to the moral and material prosperity which it promotes, nations in the long run become wearied of this Parliamentary *régime*, and the better portion of the community abstain from exercising the valueless rights of which it seems prodigal to them, and support with ill-will and continual murmurs the real and heavy burdens it lays upon them. Tyranny accompanies and follows on injustice, and irresponsible oligarchies establish their undisputed sway over millions of men; and because practically irresponsible, they are more oppressive than despots, who are for the most part held in some check by the very consciousness of the personality of their power. These oligarchies are therefore greater foes to individual and collective liberty than were the most absolute monarchs. They are ever making laws, and each law is a new restriction on freedom; for ever draining the people of their life-blood by onerous taxes which no despotic Government would have ventured to impose; persecuting whole classes of citizens, dispersing them, confiscating their property, harassing and thwarting them without intermission, by every fiscal and legal subtlety which they can devise.

Finally—and here is the refinement of this unexampled tyranny—they pretend to do all under the authority of law, thus subjecting entire nations to forms of government universally hated, but which they affect to demonstrate by legal vouchers to be universally accepted. Take France as an example, which is certainly at heart anything but Republican, but which yet has a Republican Government ready to prove, as clearly as that two and two make four, that the country is devoted to it and prepared to maintain the Republic at any cost. The reviewer marvels how any Catholics can be found, and they are by no means rare, who place all their hopes in Parliamentary forms. He readily acknowledges, nay, is forward in asserting, that where these exist, Catholics should endeavour to reap every advantage they can from them, and strive to counteract all the evil they would produce, by taking an active part in political affairs, and not by their withdrawal allowing the workers of mischief and instruments of Satan to have it all their own way in their impious enterprises against religion, to the utter ruin of the nation. But never, he adds, will the *Civiltà Cattolica* cease to denounce the folly and illusion of those who trust

to Parliamentary forms as to a plank of salvation, and are so enamoured of them as to hold it to be the ruin of the Church in any nation where, for the very highest reasons and by the highest authority, Catholics are forbidden to give them their support. (The reviewer, it will be seen, is here alluding to the Holy Father having enjoined upon Catholics in Italy abstention from co-operation in political affairs.) Now that acknowledged Liberals are on all sides proclaiming the rottenness of the Parliamentary edifice, shame indeed it would be if any Catholics should undertake its panegyric by word or by writing. After all that has been suffered, after all that experience has taught them, and all the authoritative instruction they have received, they ought to lay aside dreams and fantasies which, if excusable once, are assuredly no longer so.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Dr. BELLESHEIM, Cologne.

1. *Katholik.*

CANON STÖCKL contributes two learned dissertations comparing the theory of the origin of our ideas as put forward by Plato and Aristotle with that of S. Thomas. Plato, laying undue stress on ideas, went so far as to separate them from God himself, thus dissolving the reality of beings. On the other side, Aristotle was indeed successful in correcting his master's one-sidedness and proceeding in his system from the reality of the visible world, but he brought the realities so far into prominence as to deny the prototypes without which no visible beings can be duly conceived. But S. Thomas, combining what was true in the Greek systems, produces a philosophy which satisfies every mental requirement in the search after truth. The capital tenets which he has fully established are—firstly, that there is no general or common nature, but only individuals; secondly, that our general ideas are not mere *flatus vocis*, but supported by “fundamentum in re.” Far more striking is the gulf separating the doctrine of the Greek philosophers about the origin of the world from S. Thomas's system. The idea of creation “ex nihilo sui et subjecti” is sought for in vain in their writings. Canon Stöckl concludes by asking—Is there no progress in mediæval philosophy; can S. Thomas and the other celebrated doctors of the Church justly be pronounced to be only repeaters of the Greek? Modern non-Christian philosophers, who wage war against S. Thomas and taunt him with only echoing Plato or Aristotle, are totally defeated by Canon Stöckl's masterly articles.

Dr. Schmitz, the author of the “Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche,” which I noticed last year, has an article on a kindred question lately much agitated among German divines, viz., whether during the first seven centuries the Church possessed jails and sentenced culprits to imprisonment. He first of all refers to

Gregory II.'s letter to the Emperor Leo, in which the Pope emphatically insists on the great difference between Church and State both in matter of power and means of punishment. The same Pope goes on to refer to imprisonment in the "Diaconica" and "Catechumenica," meaning by these terms such parts of the Church as were used for harbouring delinquents previously to their reconciliation to the Church. But in the six preceding centuries the Church neither possessed jails nor did she sentence any culprit to imprisonment. From the time of Gregory II., however, we meet with imprisonment as a part of ecclesiastical penance tending to bring back the culprit to the Church. A striking difference may here be referred to between the Anglo-Saxon and Roman discipline. To the former the punishment of imprisonment was unknown, whilst, on the contrary, it regularly occurs in the Roman books of penance.

Another and a very appropriate contribution is one treating of the "Gospel in the Liturgy." If I am not mistaken, we are indebted for it to a disciple of the late learned Dom Guéranger, of Solesmes. The author treats of the honours paid to the Evangeliarium as containing Holy Writ. It is kissed and incensed. There are certain solemnities employed in reading the martyrology in the vigils of Christmas and Annunciation. In the Eastern rites are still performed the *μικρὰ εἰσόδος*—viz., the solemn procession with the Book of Gospels. A peculiar honour has been paid to the Book of the Gospels in the General Councils; sometimes a special throne was prepared on which the volume was placed. From this time-honoured custom the last General Council of the Vatican did not depart. One of the most venerable and ancient rites, and still observed in the bishop's consecration, is the placing of the Book of Gospels upon his shoulders and head.

In the August number the same author continues his dissertation, commenting on the lection taken from the Gospels and on the office of deacon to whose lot it falls to be the official reader of the Gospel. Whilst the Eastern Church in its solemn liturgy reads the whole Gospels, the Roman Church happily adapted the biblical lections to the spirit of the liturgy, which is continually occupied in representing the life of Christ. In the times of persecution the Gospel was considered to be a part of the "disciplina arcana," and therefore only after the departure of the catechumens did the priest or bishop begin to explain it. Immediately before they were baptized, the four Gospels were made known to them. In concluding, our author reminds the reader of the imposing ceremonies observed whilst the German Emperor at Christmas sang the Gospel "Exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto."

Lastly, but not least, we are presented with two essays on Wyclif as a translator of the Bible. The subject is grasped with great ability and extensive knowledge of English literature. The English Church, before Wyclif made his sad appearance, enjoyed at least three translations of the entire Bible, whilst Wyclif can only be credited with having translated the four Gospels.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter*.—Professor Hettinger, of Wurzburg University, the learned author of the "Apologie des Christenthums,"

contributes two pleasantly written articles on "Siena and Fra Bernardino Occhino." In noble language he traces a comparison between S. Francis of Assisi, the devout son of the Church, the great founder of the Franciscan Order and sublime poet, and Fra Occhino, the unfortunate apostate who, owing to his eloquence being praised, or rather adored, soon fell a prey to pride and heresy. Paul III. had him warned and rebuked; but Occhino obstinately refused to retrace his steps, went over to Protestantism, fled to England, thence proceeded to Zurich, and at last, after having undergone not a few persecutions from his new co-religionists, died of the plague in a small Moravian village. These learned articles are well worth reading, and are remarkable chiefly for the author's ability in tracing the development of Occhino's defection. The downfall of the miserable General of the Capuchins could only be described by one like Professor Hettinger, who, besides being familiar with Italian life, history, art, and feeling, ranks high as a philosopher and theologian.

In the August issue I have a rather lengthened critique on a book which should possess a great interest for English Catholics. The keeper of the Belgian State Archives has just published a work bearing the title "Lettres de Philippe II. à ses filles les infantes Isabelle et Catherine pendant son voyage en Portugal (1581-1583)." Mr. Garhard found these precious monuments in the Turin Archives, and now presents them to the public. Historians who would be inclined to describe the husband of Queen Mary as a stern, unmerciful politician, will henceforth be obliged to take another view of Philippe II. From these letters he appears to be a most loving father, taking the utmost care of his children, and unrelenting in the discharge of his religious duties. This remarkable book, enlarged by a learned introduction, will bring about a complete revolution in people's estimate of the Spanish monarch. Let it be further remembered that the Infanta Isabella, afterwards married to the Archduke Albert, was intrusted with the government of Spanish Belgium. During her reign this pious princess did not cease to bestow benefits on English missionaries and intercede on the behalf of English Catholics with the Court of London.

The same number contains a laudatory criticism on the "Æsthetik" of F. Jungmann, S.J., professor in the University of Innsbruck; a work deserving high praise, since it fully and energetically emphasizes the views of the greatest doctors of the Church as to the "pulchrum."

3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*.—Mr. Wilfrid Ward is now the great champion against Agnosticism. But on a minor scale a good deal is done against it also in Germany. To F. Langhorst, S.J., we are now indebted for two solid articles on the Religion of Agnosticism. On hearing the word "religion," no reader ought to be taken by surprise, since no man can spare religion altogether; and Agnosticism too, the outcome of Comte's Positivism, is only a new effort to establish a mock religion. A splendid essay is contributed by F. Baumgartner, S.J., who describes Copenhagen and his journey to the Faroe Islands.

There are nowadays not many writers in Germany who could boast of handling our language in so masterly a manner as does F. Baumgartner. Splendour of style, breadth of view, keen apprehension of men, lands and customs, happily combine with solid theological knowledge to make these essays attractive. They have brought the *Stimmen* into great favour. In the present paper the writer carries us through Denmark, and then proceeds to the Faroe Islands, where he consoles a poor Catholic family totally deprived of the sacraments of the Church.

4. *Historisches Jahrbuch der Goerres-Gesellschaft*.—The July number contains a rather extended essay, written by Professor Dittrich of Braunsberg, on the history of the Catholic Reformation. Starting from the fifteenth century, he describes the exertions made at that time in Italy for reforming the Benedictines. Whilst Lodovico Barbo brought out a strong reform, the "Congregatio Vallisoletana" was engaged on the same work in Spain. Coming to Leo X., he dwells on the decrees of the fifth Council of the Lateran under this Pope. I am glad to see that, according to Dr. Dittrich, the noble publication of Cardinal Hergenroether on that Pope (*Regesta Leonis X.*) will greatly contribute towards establishing a fairer judgment on Leo X. We would dwell with gratification on the unrelenting exertions of Bishop Caraffa (afterwards Paul IV.) for promoting piety and science, and abolishing the manifold abuses which then disfigured the Church, from the Curia to the simple incumbent.

Notices of Books.

A Philosophical Catechism for Beginners. By ST. GEORGE MIVART, Ph.D., M.D., F.R.S., &c. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. 1884.

IN a small brochure of less than fifty pages Mr. St. George Mivart has carried out an idea on which we most warmly congratulate him. He has endeavoured to "state in clear and simple language," as he tells us, "answers to new, deep, and widely discussed questions, which have for many years occupied" his mind. The little work is in ten sections, of varying length. It begins, as was to be expected, with the discussion of Consciousness, Certitude, and Self-evident Truth. Then comes a chapter on the External World. The Faculties of Man come next, and the essential difference between the higher and the lower faculties is admirably shown. Following this, we have the elements of ethics laid down in a section on Moral Goodness, leading to a demonstration of the difference between Man and the Brutes. The First Cause, Free-will, and the Existence of God (with a corollary on

Religion), bring us to the concluding section, which briefly sums up the advantages of the "true philosophy."

It is profoundly satisfactory to have to welcome and notice a book like this. The most wearisome of all tasks is to have to teach truth through the medium of controversy; unless, perhaps, there be a more wearisome duty still, and that is, to learn truth through the same medium. There will always be discussion and polemic more or less fierce. There will always be tracts and corners of the great human field where the erring must be convinced at the expense of wading through the marshes which their errors have encompassed them with. Moreover, there will always be men powerful enough to do harm and wrong enough to require refuting. But the multitude must have knowledge of a positive quality and in compact shape. Real knowledge, real truth, will always, to a very great extent, if it be presented to an unprejudiced mind, prove itself. Therefore, whether we speak of Christianity, or Catholicism, or the true philosophy, there is a large work to be done by simple but adequate compendiums, statements, and catechisms. In religious matters we are not altogether without such helps; in philosophy we have had nothing—at least in English—until now.

It will not be expected that Mr. Mivart should go into questions of scholasticism, or develop any new or old theories of the *how* and the *why* of mental or moral laws. He begins before all the discussions of the schools. He is busy in a region where, in the days from St. Anselm to Descartes, there was no fighting. His inquiry is, whether we know anything at all—whether there is such a thing as truth? He establishes objective knowledge and the reality of the world outside. He places in a clear light the difference between the reasoning man and the sentient brute. He proves God, free-will, and morality. In a word, he speaks in the presence of modern "Agnosticism," and his Catechism of Philosophy is framed to meet the questions, or the ignorance, of a world whose teachers are chiefly teaching it that it cannot know anything—not even that with which it comes into physical collision. He is, in these pages, neither a Thomist nor an anti-Thomist, except so far as truth and Thomism are synonymous.

Without asserting—as the learned author would be the last to assert—that this little work can supersede a course of philosophic study, or that it will enable students to dispense with other and longer books, we unhesitatingly say that it will be a very great boon and treasure to hundreds and thousands. This is perfectly evident from half a dozen different points of view. What is it, for instance, that checks and paralyzes the advances of hundreds of educated men towards Catholicism? It is not that they cannot discern the hollowness of every other form of religion; neither is it that they cannot get over their "objections" to the Real Presence, the Pope, or the Blessed Virgin. It is simply the spirit of cold scepticism, doubt, and atheism which they have had breathed into them in the very atmosphere which surrounds them. If there is a God, they tell you—if there is such a thing as religion, virtue, or free-will—if one could be sure of *anything*,

then we could be Catholics ; we can never be anything else. There is no need to say that educated Catholics also are affected by the unbelief and doubt that so strongly characterize the times in which we live. Many of them can neither prove the truths which they know they ought to cling to, nor answer the objections so flippantly made by the prophets of desolation. To such minds as these no greater service could be done than to provide short but decisive " proofs " or expositions of grand fundamental facts and truths. They want to be sure, for instance, that we can " know." Mr. Mivart proves to them, not by mere declamation, or rhetorical figures, or abuse of the opposite side, that we do know. Omitting the positive part of the proof, which necessarily is little more than an exposition, we quote the negative side—that is to say, his demolition of scepticism. It will serve at once as a specimen of his method and a sample of his matter :—

Inquirer. What sort of a man would he be who asserted the faculty of memory to be altogether untrustworthy ?

Teacher. An absolute sceptic ; for if memory is untrustworthy, every other faculty must be untrustworthy also, so that such a man must affirm that we can be certain of nothing.

I. Is the state of an absolute sceptic an exceptionally intellectual state ?

T. On the contrary, it is an exceptionally foolish state, since the absolute sceptic must refute himself by asserting the certainty of uncertainty.

I. How should we treat a sceptic ?

T. We cannot refute him by argument, because he does not admit the truth of anything to which we can appeal. He is in a mentally diseased condition.

I. Can he defend his own position ?

T. No, he cannot logically do so, since he doubts whether there is such a thing as rational speech, whether words can be used twice over in the same sense, and whether any process of reasoning is valid. But any attempt on his part to show he is right, would show his real confidence in reason, language, and even truth, and imply his belief in the very thing he professes to doubt.

I. What practical deduction do you draw from this fact ?

T. The deduction that since nothing can be true, the inevitable consequences of which are absurd and self-contradictory, therefore no system which inevitably leads to absolute scepticism can be true. (Pp. 5-6.)

It may be noted in regard to this passage, which is expressed with admirable condensation and yet with a perfectly idiomatic intelligibility, that it insists mainly on the fact of " memory " as an absolute refutation of scepticism. Our philosophical readers will remember that this is the argument which the late Dr. W. G. Ward so powerfully used against Mill—an argument which Mill more or less admitted to be impregnable. It is a little curious that this particular turn of the argument against scepticism is not to be found in the ordinary philosophical text-books. Turning, for instance, to Father Lepidi's "Elements Philosophiae Christianae," and to his refutation of scepticism at p. 347 of the first volume, we find that learned author mentioning a variety of things which he asserts that every rational being, whatever his profession of scepticism, must hold as truth, but

he nowhere speaks of "memory." The truth is, that if a man is a consistent sceptic, he must of course be a sceptic as to the avouchments of his memory as well as of every other impression. To refute this sceptic—or rather, to get rid of him, for he cannot be refuted—it is just as strong to refer to the existence of "thought" as of "memory." In fact, memory, except the memory of what has occurred a minute or two back, is no demonstration whatever of anything except a present "thought" or impression. The foe against whom Dr. Ward used "memory" was not the sceptic, but the phenomenist. He proved, by the phenomena of "memory," not that every man really held something as true, but that no one could accept the avouchments of his memory without accepting *intuition*; for to assert that your present impression corresponds with a past fact is to act as an intuitionist. But no doubt "memory" is a good, round, tangible matter, and at least as good an impression as any other; and therefore it is very proper to be insisted upon in a catechism for beginners. Dr. Mivart says: "If memory be untrustworthy, every other faculty must be untrustworthy also." Perhaps the distinction we have already adverted to should have been explicitly made here, in order to strengthen the position. Memory, in one sense, is decidedly untrustworthy. It is only when we advert to what has occurred a very short time ago that we are infallibly certain of a past impression, and that, therefore, we can use such a certainty to prove the existence of an intuition in every one who believes his memory.

Section III. of Dr. Mivart's Catechism, entitled "The External World," is one of the most important as well as one of the largest chapters in the book. The eminent writer is convinced, as he has indicated elsewhere, that it is possible to prove that we do know an external world. His argument is, to a certain extent, his own. He begins by distinguishing the dreaming state from the waking:—

T. In my waking state, my will has influence over my thoughts, and can test the consistency of my apparent perceptions, as to which I can have recourse to a special set of feelings I call the testimony of others. In the same state I can note the superior distinctness and coherence of my apparent perceptions to those of my dreaming state, and can use simultaneously and on purpose different faculties, and reflect on the fact of my so using them. In my dreaming state also, appearances often come suddenly to an end, and while the successive periods of my dreaming state are disconnected, the successive periods of my waking state are distinctly connected, and form a consistent serial whole. Finally, I know very well, when awake, that my ideas have an objective origin; I have no such knowledge as to my impressions while sleeping.

He goes on to show the distinction between "sensations" and "ideas." The former are permanent; the will has no control over the "facts of the external world." He then draws out an elaborate argument from physical science to show that our knowing or not knowing bodies is a mere accident of their existence, which is independent of our own:—

T. All physical science reposes on a belief in really existing, independent, extended, material bodies with certain powers, and it supports itself by

predictions which are again and again verified by the event; moreover, it not only does this, but it explains how phenomena are thus caused, and this conception of the causal interaction of bodies is so essential that without it all physical science would collapse. Moreover, modern science tells us that there was a time when there were no minds to perceive, and that yet the interaction of physical causes went on till first organic matter, and ultimately sentient matter, was evolved. This whole system is profoundly inconsistent with idealism.

The argument, that unless we can really know the world outside, "physical science would collapse," is a useful one, as it puts in a nutshell the wide generalization that idealism leads to absurdity. After all, human nature must be taken as it is. If human faculties present an external world, the external world is there, or else human nature is absurdly fashioned; and as we cannot go behind human nature, we cannot argue with any one who lands us in a conclusion so disparaging to it. And here we are standing on the most solid ground; for a conviction of this sort is so luminous and clear, so unvarying and so universal, that it is a fact rather than a judgment. But Mr. Mivart, in the preceding section, has a few lines which are really a supplement to his argument as just now quoted, and they will remind the reader of a passage in his recent "*Nature and Thought*":—

I. Can you give an instance of this perception of ours of such concordance between objective and subjective relations?

T. Yes; such a concordance is implied in every proposition about external things known to us. Thus when I say "a negro is black," I affirm a conformity between the external thing "a negro" and the external quality "blackness;" I also affirm a conformity between those two external entities and my two corresponding internal concepts—that is to say, I affirm that there is really an external thing corresponding to the term "negro" and an external quality corresponding to the term "black." Besides these assertions, I also implicitly affirm a correspondence between my mental judgments and the corresponding objective co-existence. . . .

I. But can we be sure of the reality of this correspondence?

T. Yes; for without it all physical science and even all reasoning must come to an end. We recognize this correspondence every time we use external things, according to our judgment of their actions or utility, and it is brought home to us by the fulfilment of every expectation and especially every scientific prediction. (Pp. 9, 10.)

In other words, as the author pointed out so well in "*Nature and Thought*," a strong proof—nay, an irrefragable proof—of our possession of "objective certainty" is furnished by the fact that, given two or more external objects, these objects are found to affect each in the precise way in which our subjective impressions of them would lead us to expect. It is not an easy position to make quite clear, and we miss the admirable illustrations which made the larger work such an entertaining and instructive reading. But the limits of a "*Catechism*" forbid the introduction of anything more than explanations and arguments.

Many readers will find the author's chapters on the higher and lower faculties, and on the difference between man and the brute, the most

useful part of this work. His two catalogues, one of the lower powers we share with animals, the other of the higher power which man alone possesses (pp. 22, 23), will be found helpful and interesting. Nothing is more necessary at this moment than that ordinary thinkers should be clearly informed as to the essential difference between the mind of a man and that of a brute. Immense consequences, as to spirituality, responsibility, and immortality, are involved in this distinction. This is how Dr. Mivart proves that "goodness" in an action is not an idea which is derived from accumulated pressure of utility, but a simple idea, incapable of analysis, having its root in intuition :—

All our knowledge is either self-evident or is legitimately deduced from what is self-evident, and this of course applies to our ideas of right and wrong, as well as to all the rest of our knowledge. Now if we wish to prove any action to be right (the proposition which asserts it to be so not being self-evident), we must do it by the aid of propositions about goodness, one of which must be self-evident. In other words, the general propositions which lie at the root of any ethical system must themselves be ethical, and therefore could never possibly have been evolved from any feelings of preference for tribal instincts over individual ones. (P. 30.)

His proof of the great difference, intellectually, between man and the lower animals is chiefly taken from the consideration of human speech :—

T. Every race of men possesses language ; and that the power of speech is innate in infants is shown by the rapidity and ease with which they acquire language. We must judge of latent capacity by outcome. Savages and infants can be taught to understand our ideas, and to exchange ideas with us, but no brute can be thus taught. Nevertheless, just as brain disease or deformity may hinder all intellectual manifestations, so it is conceivable that very unfavourable conditions might render some families of men incapable of exhibiting their essentially intellectual nature. Still no such cases have been discovered. If brutes possessed such mental powers, the fact would soon become inconveniently evident to us. (P. 32.)

All human language (apart from mere emotional manifestation) necessarily implies and gives expression to a number of abstract ideas. It is impossible for any savage to speak the simplest sentence without having first formed for himself abstract ideas. Abstraction is as universal as language. All our words, except proper names, pronouns, and certain determining adjectives and participles, express abstract ideas. Universal abstract terms are made use of spontaneously by children, who begin by giving very wide meanings to terms which they subsequently learn to restrict. (P. 33.)

The section on Free-will is very good and effective. Here is a capital example of a popular and true answer to a most captious objection :—

I. How, then, can God know our future actions if they are quite free ?

T. Because He may know them quite otherwise than by the law of causation. (P. 41.)

We call this an excellent and true answer, because, without denying that the first cause does, in an important sense, influence all human

activity, even such as is free, being, in truth, the mainspring of its very freedom, yet it repels the vulgar conception that our future actions are known to God formally because he intends to make us do them.

Perhaps the "question and answer" form of this little book may not be quite the best that could have been chosen. The strength of the "question and answer" is that a definite issue may be easily put before the learner; its weakness is that it interferes with statement and development. Hence it is most useful in cases where very short and simple expositions are required, and least useful when there must be argument, proof, and illustration. Dr. Mivart has shown in "Nature and Thought" how well he can handle philosophic argument, and how beautiful and appropriate is the language in which he can clothe his abstract thought. If we find a certain obscurity, jerkiness, and harshness here, the difference must in part be put down to the limits in which he has to work, but in part also, we think, to the catechetical form. But this, after all, is a slight matter. The book ought to be widely circulated, as a correction to the "agnosticism" of the day, and as a help to those young men who have drifted into the sea of modern thought without having furnished themselves with a rudder or a compass.

The Virgin Mother of Good Counsel. A History of the Ancient Sanctuary of Our Lady of Good Counsel in Genezzano. By Monsignor GEORGE F. DILLON, D.D. Rome: Propaganda Press, London: Burns & Oates. 1884.

IN a very handsome volume of over 600 pages, printed with extreme clearness and wonderful correctness at the Propaganda Press in Rome, Monsignor Dillon, of Sydney, sets forth in great detail and with pious warmth the history of the miraculous image of Our Lady at Genezzano. Many of our readers will know that this widely venerated effigy is said to have appeared suddenly on the wall of an unfinished church at Genezzano, now more than four centuries ago. A short time afterwards there came to the sanctuary two strangers from Albania, who declared that the image was no other than one which had been venerated from time immemorial in Scutari (not Scutari on the Bosphorus, but the Albanian town), and which had disappeared precisely at the time they left their native land. This double tradition Monsignor Dillon undertakes to substantiate. That there is a celebrated Madonna at Genezzano, and that many graces and miraculous favours have been received there, no Catholic would think of disputing. And whoever goes carefully through this elaborate work, will easily convince himself that there was a miraculous apparition in 1467. There is no contemporary account of what is said to have occurred on St. Mark's Day of that year; but there is no doubt that Pope Paul II. sent a commission of two Bishops to Genezzano about the following July. That this commission related to the miracles wrought by the holy image is asserted by

Calesius, who wrote the life of Pope Paul II. We wish Dr. Dillon had been a little more explicit about Calesius, and also about a Cardinal Quirino who vouches for Calesius. It would have been useful to know the exact name of Calesius's work, and the edition. More satisfactory is the extract from Ambrosius Coriolanus, a General of the Augustinians, who, writing some fourteen years after 1467, alludes in plain and express terms to the miraculous apparition of the Image. Yet here also the full and exact name of the work quoted would have given greater confidence. "Defens, p. 11, c. 3" is not satisfactory; if Monsignor Dillon quotes at first hand, he might have given us the chance of verifying his quotations. The third authority on which he relies is a contemporary record of miracles, or rather a very early copy of the official report of about one hundred and sixty miracles wrought within a few months of the apparition. It has disappeared, having apparently been lost during the French occupation of the country in the beginning of the present century; but there seems no reason whatever to doubt the evidence of writers who examined it as late as 1747. The immemorial tradition of the apparition is proved by the proper Mass and Office, granted in 1789, after a searching examination by the Congregation of Rites. In referring to the apparition itself, the third lesson of the second Nocturn says that it is established by pontifical documents and similar evidence that Our Lady did miraculously appear—"mirabiliter apparuisse comprobatur." The two commissioners employed in this investigation have left a most valuable monument of their labours, and at the same time a most complete collection of evidence in the case, in a printed volume, fully used by Dr. Dillon, entitled "Esame critico di alcuni monumenti spettanti all' apparizione della Madonna di Buon Consiglio, fatto d'ordine della sacra Congregazione de' Riti, 1779."

The evidence for the other part of the tradition, that is to say, for the belief that the image at Genezzano was miraculously transported from Scutari, is not so clearly established. There is no reference to it in the Office or the Mass. It is certain that the people of Genezzano at first, and long after the appearance of the Albanian "pilgrims," called the image "la Madonna di Paradiso," and held that it had come from heaven. As far as we can make out from Monsignor Dillon's pages, there is absolutely no documentary proof for nearly 200 years after the date of the apparition which can be quoted in favour of the miraculous translation, or of the existence of the "Albanian pilgrims." That a pious belief existed so far back at least as 1630 seems, however, certain. The interesting proofs, collected by Monsignor Dillon and now published, many of them for the first time, of the existence of a sanctuary of the Madonna at Scutari, can hardly be considered as evidences of the tradition in question.

As to the sacred image itself, as now venerated, it is a fresco, painted (if it be painted) on thin hard mortar, as if it had been detached from the surface of a wall. It is stated by those who have seen it to be still altogether detached from any wall or backing. Its existence in this state for upwards of 400 years is by itself a wonder-

ful fact. Representations of the sacred image are not uncommon, and there are probably few who have not looked on the most characteristic face of Mary, and on the Divine Infant, lovingly leaning His cheek against hers, with one little arm round her neck and the hand of the other grasping her robe at the throat. We have no space here to enter into the devotional details given by Dr. Dillon. His book is a worthy monument of devout labour, and must have cost him many long days of investigation and work. Genezzano is not far from Rome, in a land rich with Christian shrines and memories of the past. We cannot doubt that this charming book, written with the leisure of an antiquarian and the piety of a true Catholic, will not only send many pilgrims to Our Lady of Good Counsel, but will increase her glory and promote devotion to her in all English-speaking lands.

La Messe. Études archéologiques sur ses monuments. Par CH. ROHAULT DE FLEURY, continuées par son fils (GEORGES ROHAULT DE FLEURY). Vol. II. Paris: Morel & Cie. 1883.

THE second volume of this magnificent contribution to Catholic archaeology is not behind the first in interest. Several of the plates, such as the side chapel in St. Mark's (pl. civ.), and the canopy at Milan (cx.), are particularly artistic, embracing, as they do, some perspective, and not being confined, like most of the engravings, to details.

The subjects comprised in the present volume are the baldachino, or canopy above the altar, anciently called ciborium; the altar screen, the tabernacle, the confession, called also crypt or martyrium—*i.e.*, “Locum qui in plerisque ecclesiis sub altare majori esse solet, ubi SS. martyrum corpora requiescant qui martyrium seu confessio appellatur”—and episcopal chairs. For the altar canopy, which M. de Fleury designates “ciboire,” he unhesitatingly adopts the etymology *κιβωριον*, as conveying the idea of covering. The learned are by no means agreed upon the etymology of ciborium, but the author does not discuss the question. We may mention, however, that besides the derivation from *cibus*, the word has been held to be connected with *κιβωριον*. *Κιβωριον* is by some said to be an Egyptian word, signifying the cup-shaped outer husk of a kind of fruit grown in the East. The canopy over the altar was suggested, according to M. de Fleury, by the solicitude to protect the altar from the possibility of anything falling upon it; and in support of this opinion he quotes a canon of the Council of Cologne in 1280, which orders a white linen veil or awning to be stretched above the altar to protect it from dust or impurities which might fall upon it. Of course, in the catacombs, where the *arcosoli* generally served as altars, a protection of this kind over the plane of the altar was afforded by the very construction. It is not suggested, however, that this is in any way the origin of the canopies which were erected over the altars when the Church emerged from underground confinement, and its rites began to be celebrated in spacious edifices. M. de Fleury considers it necessary to seek in the

Bible an explanation of the origin of many ritual monuments, and dwells upon the care of the Evangelists to preserve an attachment between the Old Law and the New, and to maintain the material connections between the New Rite and the Old, for which there had been Divine legislation. The passage of Exodus xl. 16, &c., is, indeed, singularly apposite and significant, when considered in relation to the altar canopy. "Erexit Moyses illud, et posuit tabulas ac bases ac vectes, statuque columnas. Et expandit tectum super tabernaculum, imposito desuper oportamento, sicut Dominus imperaverat. Cumque intulisset arcam in tabernaculum appendit ante eam velum, ut expleret Domini iussionem."

Where all is of such deep interest it is hard to say what may first rivet attention. The thoughts naturally, however, centre round the tabernacle. The word "tabernaculum" was not much employed before the Middle Ages; previously "repositorium," "sacrarium," "oblationarium," "paratorium," "diaconicum," "episcopium," were in use to designate the reposing place of the Blessed Eucharist. An inventory of the Sainte Chapelle, in 1376, mentions a tabernaculum of silver gilt suspended by three chains. The term *repositorium* is found used in the the fifth century. St. Clement borrowed the word *sacrarium* from the pagans, when he cautions the deacons to take care "ne qua putredo in sacrario inveniatur."

The form of these early *sacraria*, M. de Fleury thinks, was probably derived from the niche which was constructed in the *sacrarium* of pagan temples to receive a statue of the god or goddess there worshipped. And this is supported by numerous architectural analogies.

"Jesus Christ has realized," writes M. de Fleury, "the great thought of Plato, who says that the gods dwelt in the temples, and there held converse with mortals. The Eucharist, the living God, is the host of the new tabernacle."

One of the most interesting questions in connection with the history of the tabernacle is the subject of the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the sick. There is very early evidence of this practice of the Church, perhaps even as early as A.D. 167, and certainly before A.D. 250. We have not space, however, to follow M. de Fleury, who cites a valuable body of testimony on this point. If there is one thing more than another that impresses us generally as we progress with the author through the fertile field of Christian archaeology, it is the early development of the Church's doctrine and sentiment in the ritual monuments and their ornament. The thought to which the pious sculptor or painter gives utterance serves often to indicate the belief and tradition of the Christian Church long before it has been formally registered and consigned as part of the deposit of the Faith by the Church's official pronouncements. However remote the epoch, the manner, the material, the state of knowledge, and the conditions of life from those of the artist and artificer of the present time, we find the worker's chisel or his brush guided by the same thoughts as the Catholic of to-day is taught to ponder. The same emblems reappear, the same interpretations of the Scripture parables or allusions, bear a thousand

testimonies to the unity and continuity of the Church. That great principle of authority without which a house cannot stand, and which, at the present epoch of the world's existence, more perhaps than at any other, has become a mark so eminently distinctive of the Catholic Church, found especial manifestation in the respect for the episcopal office, and the veneration paid to the chairs of the early bishops, particularly those such as the chair of St. Peter at the Vatican, of St. Mark at Venice and others of remote date, which tradition assigns to Apostolic times, and portions of which are undoubtedly of the highest antiquity. Both in the sculpture of the chairs themselves and in the representation of them on other objects, this recognition of a central inspired authority acting through the pastors of the Church finds abundant expression. Accordingly we see these chairs decorated with the symbols of the Evangelists, a hand blessing the Dove, &c.

On a chair depicted on one of the early gilt glass cups is seen the monogram of Christ's name and the rock whence springs the fountain of mystical waters. This is here evidently a symbol, not of Christ as judge, but as the rock and source of the living water. In the correspondence of Pope Innocent I. with the African bishops, the stone chair is called "natalis fons unde aquæ cunctæ procedunt, et per diversas totius mundi regiones puri latices capitisi incorrupti manant.

The same thought of the mission and jurisdiction of the Church flowing from its supreme source, its Divine Pastor, through the bishops of his flock, is again beautifully represented upon another of these gold-ornamented cups of glass, where our Divine Saviour is represented seated upon a chair with a footstool in the midst of eight martyrs who are seated in chairs at his feet.

To realize the idea of the olden bishop seated in his chair and preaching, one must fall back upon the sarcophagi of the Lateran, or of the cities of Provence. We find on these monuments Christ represented seated upon a raised throne, in the midst of his apostles, that is his priests, opening with one hand a volume of the Sacred Scriptures, expounding them, and accompanying his words by a gesture of his right hand. His feet are supported by a footstool, or by the allegorical drapery swollen by the breath of heaven. The picture is vivid, and the artist must have been inspired by the ceremonies he witnessed in the Basilicas.

In the sculptured ornaments of the episcopal seats, the lion's head and claws are sometimes introduced, M. de Fleury is disposed to consider that even these were perhaps not mere conventional decoration, but like much more that we see in the efforts of the early Christians of the catacombs to beautify the hidden home of the Faith, were pregnant with symbolism.

For ourselves we think that the wish is often father to the thought of finding an emblem in everything. It seems natural enough to suppose that the architectural and decorative forms, such, for instance, as the various developments of the acanthus, the fleurons and rinceaux, as well as the heads and claws of animals, &c., which were in vogue in Roman heathen art and had no distinctively pagan significance,

were often employed, in early Christian art, without any ulterior thought, by artificers to whom such details were familiar, and who would most readily introduce them into their work. Indeed, as the decoration which was most esteemed and patronized by their patrician employers, they would naturally dedicate it to the embellishment of the rites of Christianity as the highest offering of his skill the workman could make to the Faith he had embraced. These remarks we intend chiefly to apply to the art which is purely subordinate and decorative, and not so much to the ornamentation of large surfaces where the work becomes pictorial and claims the attention for the story it has to tell—a story which in early Christian art is so constantly an allegory or a symbolism often deeply veiled beneath pagan traditions or ambiguous delineations.

We do not think, therefore, that there are very strong reasons for attributing an emblematic significance to decorative expedients when so purely subordinate and constructive, and so probably derived from the ordinary forms of gentile art, as, for instance, in the throne sculptured on the well known Junius Bassus sarcophagus (pl. cxlviii. of M. Rohault de Fleury), where the seat is supported by lions. As, however, the custom of decorating the *cathedrae* of the early Church with lion-heads and claws was very general, M. de. Fleury's remarks on the subject will be read with interest. They are reserved and judicious:—

It has been supposed [he says] that this ornamental form was imported from Africa, Saint Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage in 399, having converted into a church a temple of the goddess Celeste, who was represented seated upon a lion: the prelate had his seat placed upon the animal's back, to signify the triumph of the cross over idolatry. We do not believe this to be the real origin, for the tomb of Bassus is of earlier date than this supposed occurrence. Besides, we know that the claw of a lion surmounted by its head was commonly met with in antique art. It is possible, however, that in borrowing this emblem from the Pagans the Christians had in mind a passage in the Biblical description of Solomon's throne—"et duas manus hinc atque inde tenentes sedile; et duo leones stabant juxta manus singulas."

Works on archaeology are too often apt to be mere amassments of erudition, bewildering through an injudicious copiousness, without method in arrangement or perspicuity in exposition. These faults are perhaps more peculiarly characteristic of German writing. M. de Fleury at any rate is singularly free from such defects. He never wastes words or makes irrelevant displays of learning. His style is lucid, concise, connected and interesting. He does not crowd the text with references to authorities, but reserves them for the most part to the footnotes, which alone would form a valuable bibliography. As a mine of historical information upon the greatest rite of worship, these volumes will be welcome in the library of the Catholic household, showing as they do how rich in significance, in association, in antiquity are the utensils and accessories of the August Sacrifice.

- Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ἐκ ἱεροτολυμπικοῦ χειρογράφου τὸν πρῶτον ἐκδιδομένη μετὰ προλεγομένων καὶ σημειώσεων ὑπὸ Φ. Βρυεννίου μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας. Εν Κωνσταντινούπολει. 1883. τύποις Σ. Ι. Βουτυρα.
- Lehre der Zwölf Apostel* nach der Ausgabe des METROPOLITEN BRYENNIOΣ mit Beifügung des Urtextes, nebst Einleitung und Noten. Ins Deutsche übertragen von Dr. A. WÜNSCHE. Leipzig: Schulze. 1884.
- Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts. Von A. HARNACK. Leipzig: Hindrichs. 1884.
- Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* Text, Translation, and Notes. By R. D. HITCHCOCK and F. BROWN, Professors in Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York: Scribners. 1884.
- The same translated, with Notes. *Contemporary Review*. By Arch-deacon FARRAR. May 1884.
- Doctrina XII. Apostolorum.* Edited, among other ancient Fragments, with Latin Notes, by A. HILGENFELD. Lipsiae: Weigel. 1884.
- Articles on the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." By Dr. BICKELL, *Zeitschrift f. Kathol. Theol.* viii. p. 400, seq.; and by Professor WORDSWORTH, *Guardian*, March 19, 1884.*

WE are always apt to exaggerate the importance of a discovery while it is still recent; and this is true especially if such discoveries as are connected with the early history of the Christian religion, for the simple reason that they are so few and far between. Tischendorf's good fortune in finding the Sinaitic MS. supplies us with an illustration: the value of the new witness to the true text of the New Testament was very high, and yet, as we suppose every textual critic would now admit, not quite so high as Tischendorf himself believed. We must be on our guard, therefore, and take care to moderate our language when we try to state the worth of the document entitled the "Teaching of the Apostles." Yet it may be safely said that for the last two centuries and more, nothing in the same line of research has been brought to light which can for one moment compete with the newly found treatise either in interest or importance. So much can be asserted with confidence, for beyond all doubt a new and clear light has been thrown on a period of Church history when light was most needed and will always be most welcome. But an enthusiastic reader might be forgiven, and might perhaps be justified, if he went further. He might deliberately prefer the book before us, small though its compass be, to all other remains of the age which followed that of the Apostles. It ought to have, moreover, a special attraction for the general reader. Knowledge and study are needed for those who wish to read and understand some of the primitive fathers, because they are hedged round with disputes about

* Articles which I have not seen have also appeared, of which the most important are by Duchesne, *Bulletin Critique*; Funk, *Lit. Rundschau*.

authenticity, or date, or authorship, which only a professed scholar can penetrate. The document before us is almost uniformly clear and simple in style; it treats methodically the ethics and ritual of the Christians in the former half of the second century; it expounds the ecclesiastical discipline and constitution which prevailed amongst them; indirectly at least it exhibits their doctrinal belief, while no shadow of doubt can rest upon the perfect accuracy of the picture which it gives. The more the picture is studied, the more we shall marvel at its completeness, in spite of the narrow dimensions of the canvas on which it is drawn. The account which will be given must needs be short, and therefore imperfect, but will, it is hoped, direct attention to the chief points, and serve as a summary, useful so far as it goes, of the results obtained.

Eusebius (H. E. iii. 25) gives a famous list of books which had a certain or doubtful, or, again, a quite unfounded claim to a place in the canon or list of New Testament writings. First he names the books acknowledged as canonical by the whole Christian world. Such were, *e.g.*, the four Gospels, the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, &c. &c. In the third and last class he places heretical forgeries, like the Gospels of Thomas, Peter, &c. His second class consists of books whose claim to be reckoned in the canon was disputed in the Church, and here he makes a subdivision. He sets by themselves books generally known, and generally, though not universally, recognized—viz., the Epistles of James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John; and enumerates next works which were indeed orthodox, which did not even differ in “style” (δὴ τῆς φρύσεως χαρακτήρ) from the “Apostolic manner” (τὸ ἥθος τὸ ἀποστολικόν), which were mentioned by very early writers, which had obtained some local recognition as canonical, but which, nevertheless, in the judgment of Eusebius himself, had no solid claim to be so considered. This second division of the second class comprises the following books in the following order:—The Acts of Paul, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistles of Barnabas and “the so-called Teachings of the Apostles” (τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδοχαί). He concludes by adding, with great doubt and hesitation, the Apocalypse of John and the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

Forty years later Athanasius (39th Festal Letter, A.D. 367) mentions the “so-called Teaching of the Apostles” (διδαχὴ καλομένη τῶν ἀποστόλων), with Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Judith, and Tobias, as works which were not canonical, but had been approved by the Fathers as proper for the instruction of catechumens. The “Teaching of the Apostles” (διδαχή) is mentioned once more by Nicephorus (died 828), and classed with the Epistles of Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, &c., among the “Apocrypha.”

So far as was known, no fragment of this “Teaching” survived, though the notices of it just given led scholars to various conjectures on its contents and character. But in 1875 a learned Greek, Bryennios, then Metropolitan of Serdes, published for the first time a complete text of Clement’s Epistles from a MS. dated A.D. 1056, and announced

that the same MS. contained a treatise entitled the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" (*διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*) between Clement's Epistles on the one side, and spurious letters to and from Ignatius of Antioch, on the other. At the close of last year Bryennios actually published the "Teaching," enriched with valuable notes. At once the authenticity of the treatise, with a reservation to be mentioned later, became evident to every competent judge. Skill of man could not have forged a work so perfectly simple and natural, which is in such absolute harmony with all that is known from other sources, which fits in so exactly with the knowledge which it complements and perfects. Nor would any party, Catholic or heretical, at any later period have had the slightest motive for imposing such a work on the Church. The purposeless self-restraint of the forger would in such a case have been still more remarkable than his genius. Moreover, the moment the "Teaching" appeared, a witness appeared more ancient and weighty than Eusebius himself. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom. i. 20, ad fin.*) quotes from "the Scripture" the following strange sentence:—"Son, be not a liar, for lying leads to theft." Nobody knew where these words came from, but they are now read in the text of the "Teaching." We can therefore fix the latest possible date of the latter. At the end of the second century it was already familiar in the Alexandrian Church, and acknowledged as a sacred book. On the other hand, Harnack has proved that it makes use of the Epistles of Barnabas and of the "Shepherd." Unhappily, the date of these books is in turn uncertain, but the fact of these quotations precludes our placing the "Teaching" with any confidence earlier than 140, though Bryennios (Introduction, p. 30) fixes 120 and 160 as the possible limits. Harnack (p. 159) suggests the period between 135 and 165 as the probable period of its origin. Internal grounds abundantly show that we cannot attribute its authorship to a subsequent time. Clement, we may be sure, would not have adduced a contemporary document as "the Scripture." The absence of any allusion in the "Teaching" to a New Testament canon, to a "rule of faith," to annual feasts, to heretical churches, the treatment of prophetic gifts without allusion to the questions raised by Montanism, the elementary nature of the ritual prescribed, all tend to the same impregnable conclusion. We must remember, too, that the writer is no sectary or eccentric fanatic, but one who secured the highest reputation in the Church. In this connection it is interesting to note that some two centuries and a half later the "Teaching" was altered, elaborated, and expanded in the seventh book of the "Apostolic Constitutions"—a fact of twofold significance, for it admits us, as it were, behind the scenes, and exhibits the forger of the "Constitutions," with a certain feeling of reverence for the ancient book and a dissatisfaction equally strong with the primitive simplicity which that ancient book exhibits. Nor is the "Teaching" in any way a literary fraud. It professes to give what the Apostles were believed to have taught, but it it does not, like so many pious fabrications, put words into their mouths. Again, it is no occasional writing, like Clement's Epistles to the Corinthians, but a compendium

of apostolic teaching—a “Summa” accepted by Christians in A.D. 140. Further still, the mere consideration of date is inadequate to give a true idea of its worth. It represents a state of things which had died out in the greater part of the Church, and it must have been written in some Church—that of Egypt probably—which was tenacious of the old discipline. We may compare it to the Cathedral of St. Magnus in the capital of the Orkneys, which witnesses at this day to the survival of the Norman architecture in that remote district long after Norman churches had ceased to be built in Great Britain.

We may now attempt briefly to determine the position which the writer occupies, but one preliminary objection must be met at the outset. It may be said the “Teaching” was meant for catechumens, as Athanasius declares, and that the “disciplina arcani,” should prevent arguments from the silence of the document. Now, it is true St. Athanasius recommends it for some such use, and says “the Fathers” did the same. But it would be a gross anachronism were we to imagine that the writer himself was influenced by discipline of this kind. The beginnings of this discipline cannot be traced beyond 170 or 180 at the furthest. We find it in Tertullian (*Praescr.* 41) and in Origen (*In Jos. Hom.* iv.), and the reserve in communicating the more mysterious doctrines of religion to the uninitiated was maintained till the sixth century. But even Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 1, pp. 323–4; i. 12, p. 348; iv. 2, p. 565; vii. 14, p. 886) has a very informal notion of such a discipline, and only exhibits it in germ, while there is no trace of it in earlier writers, though of course they are actuated by a natural caution in treating of such matters before heathen. The details given on baptism, the Eucharist, the insertion of the Lord’s Prayer warrant the assertion that our author knew nothing of it.

Putting this aside, we consider first his relation to the New Testament. He betrays no knowledge of any canon of sacred books, except those of the old law, and it may be fairly argued that it was the very absence of any New Testament canon which led to the compilation of such a compendium as the “Teaching.” Once a maxim is quoted* with the formula *εἰπῆτε* which marks it out as taken from some book esteemed sacred, though it is no part of our Bible, or else as an “unwritten” saying of Christ. There are four references to “the Gospel” as a written source (in ch. viii. 11, 15 [twice]), besides one to a saying of Jesus (ch. xi.) which occurs in Matt. vi. 6, and it is clear that the author either used our Matthew and Luke, or else had before him, as Harnack believes, a mixed text corresponding partly to our first and partly to our third Gospel. There is no proof that he had ever seen our second or fourth Gospel, or the Epistles of St. John, though he employs two phrases,

* “Let thine alms sweat into thy hands until those to whom thou givest” (ch. i. *ad fin.*). Not “so long as thou knowest,” which is Archdeacon Farrar’s rendering.

“perfect in love” and the “vine of David,” which perhaps indicate an acquaintance with theological phraseology first current among Christians and then embodied in the Joannic writings. There is no decisive quotation from St. Paul or from any part of the New Testament not already mentioned.

The first six chapters are devoted to moral precepts, positive and negative, which are set forth as the two ways of life and of death. The morality is pure and high; a very fair reproduction of the highest of all teaching, that of our Saviour in the Sermon on the Mount. Here and there the sublime principles of Jesus are modified into practical rules. Thus, after the command to turn the other cheek, we have (ch. i.) the significant addition, “and thou shalt be perfect.” Instead of Christ’s injunction to love our enemies, we are told “to hate no man,” and “to love some” more than our own souls (ch. ii.). St. Paul’s noble freedom with regard to things offered to idols (1 Cor. viii. and x.) is tightened into an absolute prohibition of eating them (ch. vi. cf. Justin. Dial. 34, *ad fin.*). The one sign of lamentable declension from the morality of Jesus occurs incidentally in the later part of the “Teaching” (ch. viii.), when “fasting with the hypocrites” is expounded to mean fasting on the same days as the Pharisees—*i.e.*, on Monday and Thursday. It should be observed, though the point is dogmatic rather than moral, that the Christian is urged to “give with [his] hands, as a ransom for [his] sins” (ch. iv.). The writer probably had Dan. iv. 24, where the Greek version used in the Church (in this case that of Theodotion) has “redeem thy sins with alms-deeds.” We may remark in passing that the rendering of the verb in the original Chaldee text by “redeem” is admitted to be correct by all impartial scholars. It was adopted in the LXX., in the Peshitto Syriac and the Latin Vulgate. The translation in the Luther and English “authorized” versions (“Mache dich los von deinen Sünden,” “Break off thy sins”) arose simply from dogmatic prejudice. There is also a striking injunction (ch. iv.) to “confess transgressions in the church.” This specification of place is wanting in Barnabas (xix. 12) and Clement of Rome (I. li. 3), though we meet with it later in Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. I. vi. 3 and xiii. 5).

The primary place given to Christian Ethics is of itself instructive. When once heresy, and particularly Gnosticism, in its widespread and organized form, became the great danger which threatened, humanly speaking, the very existence of the Church, such an order would scarcely have been observed, and assuredly something would have been said somewhere on the “rule of the truth” (*κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας*, Iren. Adv. Haer. I. ix. 4, *regula veritatis*; ib. II. xxvii. 1; Clem. Al. Strom. IV. i. p. 564; cf. Hegesipp. apud Euseb. H. E. iii. 32); or the “rule of the Church” (*κανών τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, Clem. Al. Strom. I. xix. p. 375), or the “rule of the Gospel” (ib. III. ix. p. 541), or on the preservation of the true dogmatic tradition in the Church, and notably in the Apostolic Sees (Iren. IV. xxxiii. 8; IV. xxvi. 2 et 5; Hippolyt. in *Præom. ad Philosophum*). All this is conspicuous by its absence here. Directions on a good life are immediately succeeded by rules on public worship,

and dogmatic principles appear incidentally, the law of prayer constituting the law of belief.

Baptism is to be given "into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." The minister and the candidate are to be fasting. Baptism is to be given, if possible, in running water. Warm water may be used if expedient, and, at least in case of necessity, baptism may be given by trine affusion, now first recognized, instead of immersion. Nothing is said of infant baptism.

Wednesday and Friday, afterwards known as the "stations" (Tertull. de Jugun. 2; de Orat. 19) are fasting-days, and here we find the earliest mention of a later rule. There is no reference to annual feasts, or to a Church year at all. The Lord's Prayer is given at length with a peculiar doxology appended, and it is to be recited three times a day (cf. Tertull. de Orat. 10 et 25).

In the ninth and tenth chapters the administration of the Eucharist is described. It still took place after the love-feast, as follows from the words, "after ye are filled give thanks thus," though only the baptized are to partake. First, by a most remarkable order, based on Luc. xxii. 14, thanks is to be made in a liturgical form "for the chalice," then for the broken bread, and thanks is given for "life and knowledge" made known through Jesus, God's "Servant" (*ταῦθός*, the same word used just before of David). In a final prayer of thanksgiving, God is praised for having bestowed on us "spiritual food and drink and eternal life." The "prophets" may pray further at their discretion.

This last sentence leads naturally to the concluding section, the most precious record we possess of the early government of the Church. The Church is not complete in a single congregation. The Eucharistic prayers imply its unity all over the world ("Let thy Church be gathered from the ends of the world into thy kingdom," ch. ix.), and this unity is cemented by common rule of life, by common belief in Jesus, and in the life and knowledge He has brought by the rites of baptism and the Eucharist. All this furnishes a test of Church membership, then thought quite sufficient, for immediately after the final Eucharistic prayer we read, "Whosoever comes and teaches you all these things mentioned above (i.e., the rules of life, ch. 1-5, and of worship, ch. 7-10), receive him." But over and above all this, the unity of the Church manifests itself in certain officers, whose labours are not confined to any single city or country.

No hint is given that the administration of baptism and the Eucharist was limited to any class of persons, but even in the fourth chapter the injunction is given "to remember night and day him who speaketh to thee the Word of God."

Three classes of persons who spoke His word possessed œcumeneal functions—viz., apostles, prophets, and teachers. St. Paul, as every one remembers, makes just the same enumeration: "God placed some in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers" (1 Cor. xii. 28, cf. Acts xiii. 1). St. Paul regards those as holding the highest offices in the Church, and he mentions the other offices in

the feminine or neuter form: "Then powers, then gifts of healing, helps governments, kinds of tongues." The apostles, prophets, and teachers were not elected but owed their rank directly to God, who conferred upon them the gifts of the Spirit. Our author so far testifies that the Church of his time stood on the same ground: he believed that the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit were still energizing in her midst, and he sharply distinguishes, as we shall see, the apostles, &c., from the local bishops and deacons "elected" by single congregations (see chapter xv.).

The "apostles" in the "Teaching" must not of course be confused with the Twelve chosen by Jesus. In the New Testament itself, as Dr. Lightfoot has shown (Commentary on Galatians, p. 92, *seq.*), the title has a wider sense. Barnabas is called by that name in the Acts (xiv. 4-14), and by St. Paul (Gal. ii. 9; 1 Cor. ix. 5, 6), and unless the term had been so extended, the pretensions of the false apostles (2 Cor. xi. 13; Apoc. ii. 2) would have been impossible. The Greek Fathers infer from Rom. xvi. 7 that Andronicus and Junius were apostles, and this seems to be the more natural interpretation of the passage. Hermas (Sim. ix. 15, 16) speaks of "thirty-five prophets of the Lord, and ministers, forty apostles and doctors of the preaching of the Son of God. Now at last we are able to understand far better what the office of an apostle was: "Let every apostle who cometh to you be received as the Lord. But he shall not remain, save only one day, or, if need be, the next day also: if he remain three days he is a false prophet. When he goeth forth let him take nothing save a loaf [to serve him] till he reach his night quarters. If he ask money, he is a false prophet" (chapter xi.) With this we may compare the account in Eusebius (H. E. iii. 37) of the way in which the Christian faith was spread. He speaks of evangelists "who held the first rank in succession from the Apostles" (*i.e.*, from the Twelve), gave up worldly goods, "eagerly preached Christ to those who, as yet, had never heard the word of faith," and "having laid the foundations of the faith and appointed others as pastors (*ποιμένας τε καθιστάντες ἔρεπος*)," entrusted them with the care of the flock. This can hardly fail to remind us of the directions to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 5), the latter being at the time neither a presbyter-bishop nor a diocesan bishop, but a wandering evangelist or apostle. An apostle, then, was one who, not by appointment, but in consequence of a Divine call, embraced voluntary poverty, became a wandering missionary, and held the most honourable office in the Church.

Next come the prophets, "who speak in the Spirit"—*i.e.*, in ecstasy, for the Catholic opposition to Montanism had not yet called forth the protective principle "that a prophet must not speak in ecstasy" (see Miltiades apud Euseb. H. E. V. xvii., and cf. on the other side Tertull. de An. 21, contr. Marc. iv. 22). Unlike the apostles, these prophets may settle in a particular church, where they are to be well supported with first-fruits, animal and vegetable, and to be honoured like the "high priests" among the Jews. Christians are denied all right to judge prophetic utterances, though they are

entitled, nay bound, to reject a prophet whose life is unworthy (ch. xi. xiii.).

The teacher or preacher (*διδάσκαλος*) is mentioned twice (ch. xiii. and xv.). He, too, is free from any obligation of poverty; he is worthy of his maintenance and is to be honoured. This third grade, like the other two, depended on special communication of the Spirit (Herm. Sim. ix. 25, 2), and it lasted longest in the Church. Tertullian (Præscr. 3), and, even more than a century after the date of the *διδαχὴ*, Dionysius of Alexandria, distinguish between "presbyters and teachers;" and Origen's history marks the time at which the office of the latter was being finally absorbed in that of the former.

Chapter xiv. passes from the Church at large to the Sunday service of the single congregation, which service consists in the Eucharistic sacrifice. The members are to give thanks, confess their sins, dismiss enmity, that "their sacrifices may not be defiled. For this is that [sacrifice] mentioned by the Lord: 'In every place and time they shall offer me a pure sacrifice: for I am a great king, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the Gentiles.'" Archdeacon Farrar explains the sacrifice intended as a merely metaphorical one of "praise and thanksgiving" and of the "body, soul, and spirit" of the worshipper. There is ground, however, for attaching a much more definite sense to the words. It can hardly be accidental that our author never speaks of "sacrifice" except in direct connection with the Eucharist. And reasonable doubt is excluded by a consideration of contemporary literature. Thus, Ignatius calls the Lord's table *θυσιατήριον*, "a place of sacrifice" (Ad Philad. 4), and the very same passage of Malachi is applied by Justin to the Eucharist in a manner which leaves no uncertainty as to his meaning. He says Malachi speaks "of the sacrifices offered by us—*i.e.*, of the bread of the Eucharist, and likewise of the chalice of the Eucharist" (Justin. Dial. 41). Let the candid reader judge which of the two is more reasonable—viz., to illustrate the document before us from Ignatius, who wrote a little earlier, and Justin, who wrote a little later; or, as Archdeacon Farrar has done, from the Anglican communion service. We abstain deliberately from quoting Irenæus or Tertullian, on account not so much of their later date as of their later position. They are really separated by a great gulf from the *Διδαχὴ* and from Justin. In their time the opposition to Gnosticism had already introduced the dogmatic and hierarchical age.

In chapter xv. the faithful are told to appoint for themselves "bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, meek and uncovetous, and true and approved." Clearly, as in Philipp. i. 1, no distinction is made between bishops and presbyters, in itself a mark of ancient date, and they are to be chosen by the Christian people. They "too minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers," and deserve like honour. For our author stands between two worlds, the one passing away, the other not yet come to the birth. The old "gifts of the Spirit" were no longer frequent, and churches were left without a

prophet (see chap. xiii.). Moreover, the increasing need of guarding against avaricious impostors betrays itself again and again. The "bishops and deacons" are already beginning to draw to themselves the entire superintendence of doctrine and discipline.

Much of this notice could not have been written had I been able to adopt Hilgenfeld's view, that the later sections of the *Δαδαχὴ* have been interpolated in the interests of Montanism. The judgment of this veteran scholar must always command respect, but the more I consider his theory the more incredible I find it. How came the interpolator to proceed with a caution which deprives his fraudulent work of any purpose or meaning? There is not a trace of the new and stricter discipline which the Montanists were so eager to enforce. There is not a word against second marriage (Tertull. *de Monog.* and *Exhort. Cast.* *passim*, *Adv. Marc.* i. 29), against flight in persecution (*De Jugun.* 6), on the prolonged fasts of the stations (*De Jugun.* 10), on *Xerophagy* (ib. 15), against the restoration of sinners (*Pudic.* 21), against the "psychici" or "natural men," which was the Montanist nickname for Catholics. "After me," said Maximilla (apud Epiphan. *Haer.* xlvi. 2), "there will be no longer a prophetess, but the consummation." In striking contrast with such fanaticism is the concluding chapter. It is little more than the expansion of the New Testament texts on the second coming of the Lord.*

A word or two before ending on the literature of the subject. The translation of Archdeacon Farrar is far preferable to the most inaccurate and unscholarlike rendering of Hitchcock and Brown. Wünsche has printed the text in a cheap and convenient form; while Hilgenfeld's brief but learned notes are well worth perusal. But he who can, should read and study Harnack's masterly work.

W. E. ADDIS.

Theologia Moralis. Auctore AUGUSTINO LEHMKUHL, Societatis Jesu Sacerdote. 2 vols. Freiburg: Herder. 1883-1884. .

F. LEHMKUHL has just brought out the second volume of his Moral Theology, the first of which has been warmly welcomed everywhere. Professors as well as students have long felt the need of a textbook of moral theology which should combine a solid explanation of principles with a moderate amount of casuistry. Viewing F. Lehmkuhl's work from this point only, it must be pronounced to be far superior to any textbook we have hitherto possessed in this department of theological studies. Our author first explains the principles of moral theology; the guides whom he follows are, besides S. Thomas and S. Alphonsus, the great doctors who illustrated the Church after the Council of Trent, just at a period, that is, when so many unsound

* It would be much more unreasonable to call the author an Ebionite. He may have been a convert from Judaism, as Wünsche confidently asserts, but the proofs alleged, in the Hebraism *ob rās* in ch. ii., and the allusion to Jewish rites in ch. xi., have little worth.

moral systems were started outside the Church, or even within her pale, by men infected with Protestantism or Jansenism. A noteworthy and pleasant feature of Father Lehmkuhl's treatise is the absence of any polemic element ; his closely reasoned work is not interrupted by perpetual fighting against adversaries ; and, most happily, we are spared the trouble of going once more through the *Vindiciae Alphonsianaæ*. Again, the author is entitled to our gratitude for his clear elegant Latin, which makes it a real pleasure to read his pages. It is worthy of note that there is perhaps not any burning question in matter of morals which F. Lehmkuhl does not duly examine. As to probabilism, we may safely say : *Acta sunt clausa* (i. 63-89). In Germany, even the most able defenders of aequiprobabilism are nowadays giving up their position, and adopting the system insisted on by F. Lehmkuhl. The chapter on "Vows" is especially worth mentioning, from the fact that the author, besides thoroughly discussing so many questions bearing on modern religious congregations, is principally concerned with the difference between simple and solemn vows. It does not consist merely in certain "juridic effects ;" since simple vows by a decree of the Pope sometimes may have the effects of solemn vows. Hence it was that Gregory XIII. declared the simple vows of the Jesuits to be a diriment impediment to matrimony, whilst Leo XIII. in 1878 pronounced the members of Belgian religious communities, who had bound themselves by solemn vows, not to have thereby lost the right to their private fortune (i. 315). According to St. Thomas, the solemn vow is a sort of consecration ; an idea which F. Lehmkuhl explains at some length (i. 300). His second volume is occupied with the Sacraments. And here our author shows himself to be eminently a practical man. After laying down with admirable lucidity the principles of doctrine, he is able to give solid advice to missionaries and confessors. Specially noteworthy are the paragraphs "De directione monialium" (ii. 355), and the explanation of the Papal decree commanding general confession from converts who are conditionally rebaptized in the Catholic Church (ii. 234). For English priests and students this work will have this special advantage, that the author never omits to make due reference to English law and customs ; as, for example, in the doctrine on "Thesaurus" (i. 552), "Praescriptio" (i. 564), the "Bona-fides" (i. 651). To the second volume is attached a commentary on the Bull "Apostolice Sedis," and a good Index.

BELLESHEIM.

Essais d'Exégèse. Exposition, Refutation, Critique, Meurs Juives, &c.

Par M. L. Cl. FILLION, Prêtre de Saint Sulpice, Professeur d'Écriture Sainte au Grand Séminaire de Lyon. Lyon : Delhomme et Briguet. 1884.

WE have much pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the excellent volume of Scriptural Essays which the Abbé Fillion has just published. The name of the distinguished author is a sufficient recommendation. By his Commentaries on the first three

Gospels he has shown himself a worthy scholar of his great Sulpitian master, the Abbé Le Hir. In this volume he has collected together papers written at different times, some the result of deep study, others of a fugitive character, but all of great interest and charmingly written. That on Isaiah's prophecy of the Virgin-Mother and the Emmanuel, the outcome, as the author tells us, of four months' hard study, strikes us as the gem of the collection. In this the learned author appears at his best, fighting "pro aris et focis" against rationalist and heretic. Nor is he content with a defence of the traditional explanation ; he carries the war into the enemy's country, by showing up the contradictions and inconsistencies which necessarily attend the rationalist position. In this and in other essays he does good service by meeting the rationalist objections fully and fairly. He fights them with their own weapons and on their own ground. The result is, to quote his own words, "that rationalist objections which at first sight seem specious fall to pieces when you touch them, like the shining apple of Sodom." Certainly, to such men as MM. Havet and Vernes he does well to apply Pascal's words : "Of a truth, it is a glory to religion to have as its enemies such unreasonable beings, and their opposition, so far from being dangerous, on the contrary tends to establish religious truth." An essay on the Revised Version naturally excites the interest of English readers. It is surprising to find how completely the learned professor has studied the whole literature of this peculiarly English subject. We rejoice to find that his opinions coincide with those already expressed in the DUBLIN REVIEW. After dwelling at length on the total absence of all real authority in the Revision, he remarks : "We must without doubt admire, and even perhaps envy, the enthusiastic love which the English have for the Bible, and the courage with which they undertake in its behalf laborious toil ; but it remains none the less true that oftentimes their labours result in pure loss, and that we must apply to them, at least in part, the sad axiom : "*Magni passus sed extra viam!*" To the general reader the essays descriptive of Jewish customs will prove most entertaining and instructive. From our author's "Visit to a Jewish Cemetery," or rather "house of the living," as they style it, we learn that cremation is condemned in the Talmud as idolatrous, and that it is therein prescribed that if a Jew in his will should direct his executors to burn his body, such a clause would be null and void. In rabbinic writings it is even taught that earth has power to purify the human body from moral stains, and to prepare it for the glory of the resurrection ! In another paper the learned Abbé gives copious extracts from the Jewish Catechism. Having told how a Catholic Catechism which had been thrown away was picked up by a Jewish child, and led to the conversion of a whole family, he says that he is quite sure that the Jewish Catechism would never lead even the least instructed Catholic to apostasy.

JOSEPHI CORLUY, S. J., in Collegio Lovaniensi Societ. Jesu S. Scripturæ Professoris *Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum*, seu Commentarii in delecta S. Scripturæ loca quæ ad demonstranda dogmata adhiberi solent in usum prælectionum et conferentiarum sacerdotalium. Tomus Primus. Gandavi: C. Poelman. 1884.

MOST students of dogmatic theology have felt the want of a fuller treatment of the Scripture texts adduced in support of the thesis. Cardinal Franzelin is one of the few theologians who make it a special point not merely to quote texts, but to prove their relevancy, and give a reply to the critical difficulties which oftentimes surround the texts, and which need to be cleared away before their demonstrative value is apparent. It may perhaps be thought that this belongs rather to the Professor of Scripture than to the Professor of Theology. However that may be, Father Corluy, the Scripture Professor in the Jesuit College at Louvain, has set himself to supply the want in his "Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum." And to judge from his first volume, he is doing it exceedingly well. His plan is to take the different treatises in their order, and to discuss very fully all the vital Scripture texts. First he gives the text itself and the context in its original language, Hebrew or Greek, with the Vulgate translation. Then follow a careful grammatical analysis and a complete discussion of all the questions which may arise. A considerable portion of the present volume is occupied with Messianic prophecy, in which the learned Professor shows himself to be thoroughly master of the whole literature of the subject. We may remark, by the way, how frequently he quotes Dr. Pusey on Daniel and the Minor Prophets. In his discussion on the Hexæmeron, Father Corluy gives at some length Dr. Clifford's opinion, lately expressed in the DUBLIN REVIEW, as to the liturgical character of the first chapter in Genesis. Arguments for and against are very fairly stated. But the Professor gives the support of his own authority to the day-period explanation. This opinion, he says, is that held by Pianciani, Palmieri, Reusch, Meignan, Vigouroux, Molloy, Hamard, Pozzy, J. D'Estienne, Delitzch, and is among Catholics the commonly received opinion. Among the texts quoted in the treatise "De Deo Uno et Trino," it is surprising to find that no account is taken of 1 John v. 7, 8—a text which Cardinal Franzelin has done so much to vindicate. Are we to infer that the learned Professor gives up the verse, or that he thinks it so overweighted with textual difficulties as to be of little service against non-Catholic gainsayers? We are convinced that Father Corluy's "Spicilegium" will be of the greatest service to our Catholic students both in theology and sacred Scripture.

Stonyhurst Illustrated. By ALFRED RIMMER. London: Burns and Oates. 1884.

IN a very large and handsome volume Mr. Alfred Rimmer has written a history and description of Stonyhurst, illustrated by a great number of full-page etchings. The letterpress, though rather

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rambling, is interesting. The writer quotes no authorities; and he makes no mention of the recent magnificent additions to the College, no portion of which figures in the illustrations. It is a book which will no doubt be bought and treasured by all who love or revere the great Jesuit College of the North.

The only Reliable Evidence concerning Martin Luther. By HENRY O'CONNOR, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1884. The American Edition has for title—

Luther's own Statements concerning his Teaching and its Results. By HENRY O'CONNOR, S.J. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1884.

WE have here a *brochure* already honoured by the approval of many bishops, which undertakes to set forth the teaching of Martin Luther and its results in the authentic words of Luther himself. There can be no difference of opinion as to the great practical value of such a work. The result of the late centennial commemoration of the so-called reformer's birth has had a result which to its promoters must have been a distinct surprise. Among the many Protestant ministers and others who undertook to panegyrisize Luther, the more respectable took the opportunity to examine with some little care his real teaching and work. They found in his teaching much more lawlessness and in his work much more evil than they were prepared for. Very few of them had the clear-sightedness, or perhaps the courage, to set him down as he really is. But a good many were so far influenced as to confine themselves to very vague praises indeed. They admitted he was not all that a decorous Anglican or a respectable chapel member of our own day would have wished him to be; but he was manly, pure, and eloquent; he broke the chains of Rome, and showed men how to come near to Christ. Now, it can be shown that Luther was as despotic as any Pope that ever lived (even in Protestant imagination); that he was intolerant on principle; that he absolutely hated and cursed Protestantism as now understood—that is, private judgment and the absence of sacraments; that he allowed heathenism as to marriage; and that his great doctrine of justification by faith was so dangerous in his own eyes that he absolutely points the danger out himself, and that it cannot be preached in any pulpit in the world without glosses and safeguards innumerable. It is very important, therefore, to have Luther's own words. Father O'Connor has given us them under circumstances of care and research which seem absolutely to preclude any possibility of an unfair citation, or of an unauthentic utterance. He gives a very particular account of the sources and editions which he has used. He then shows how Luther rejected the authority of the Pope, how he admitted the authority of the devil, and how he proclaimed his own infallibility and acted upon it. He enters into an examination of his famous translation of Rom. iii. 28 ("By Faith alone"), and shows how vain are the endeavours of some of his apologists to get rid of its antinomian character. And he concludes with describing, still in Luther's own words, the

political and moral results of his teaching. There are only two additional matters we should have liked to see included in Father O'Connor's pamphlet. First, it might have been as well to have indicated as far as possible the chronological relationship of the passages cited; for some of his admirers, such as Köstlin, ascribe to him a gradual awakening to true doctrine and an implied retractation of early crudities. And secondly, an examination of the celebrated passage in which the "pecca fortiter" occurs should perhaps have been introduced, as a great deal of controversy turns upon its wording and context. But Father O'Connor, in what he has given us, has done a great service. The work should be in every priest's library, so as to be at hand for immediate reference.

Occasional Sermons, Addresses, and Essays. By the Right Rev. GEORGE CONROY, late Bishop of Ardagh. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.

THIS volume of Remains will appeal to the wide circle in Ireland and across the Atlantic with whom the late Bishop of Ardagh came in contact. He was a striking figure among Irish bishops, and his premature death has lent an interest as touching as it is melancholy to the remembrance of a man who promised to achieve great things. George Michael Conroy was but forty-five when he died. He had been Bishop of Ardagh seven years, and had spent nearly eighteen months in Canada and the United States, fulfilling the high duties of a delegate of the Holy See. Cardinal Franchi, visiting Ireland in 1876, had noted the rare qualities of the man, and pointed him out as likely to distinguish himself in whatever delicate or difficult negotiation the Church might entrust him with. He seemed made for his peculiar work. At first it was intended that he should travel to Malabar as Apostolic Delegate; but on his arrival in Rome in 1877 the delegation to Malabar was exchanged to that which he exercised in Canada, and which, though no details have as yet been given to the world, did not fail to win him a great reputation.

It is not easy to speak of a man one has never seen, but the impression conveyed by this volume, as by the report of all that enjoyed his intimacy, is that of a typical Church statesman, grave, courteous, full of resources, calm and decided, of winning manners in private life, learned with the learning of his responsible position, and fitted remarkably to govern others. His sweetness of temper, humility, and simple faith are made much of by his friends. They speak too of his eloquence, which was conspicuous in Canada, and his ready wit and command of language. He succeeded in everything he undertook, and wore the honours of after-life with the same ease and gracefulness with which he carried off prizes as a very young man at Propaganda. The Addresses now published bear witness to the marked individuality of the speaker, reserved and dignified as they always are. The Sermons betoken unaffected piety and abound in good feeling; they are earnest and straightforward, and though not in the style to

which we are used in England, would tell on the audiences before which they were delivered. Dr. Conroy was evidently a model bishop. It may be well to add a few dates as a frame to the picture of his life. He was born in Dundalk on New Year's Day 1833; consecrated to the See of Ardagh in 1871; embarked for Canada April 29, 1877; and died at St. John's, Newfoundland, August 4, 1878. During his stay in America he received everywhere the most distinguished welcome, and his countrymen, naturally proud that the Holy See had delighted to honour one of their kith and kin, flocked round him with addresses and congratulations. In San Francisco, as in Quebec and Montreal, his arrival was an occasion of the heartiest enthusiasm; but, much as he entered into the spirit of his labours, he could not bear up against the incessant fatigue. His return to Ireland was delayed, and he died ere it could be accomplished.

On turning to what he has written, I am struck with its sincere, natural tone, its heartiness and gravity, and the sense of pastoral responsibility which seems always to have dwelt with him. Dr. Conroy was not literary by profession; he did not handle questions as a man of letters, but as a priest or bishop, intent on the immediate consequences of things; and it would be misleading to deal with even the Essays in this book as studies in criticism. The good qualities they possess are of another kind. They do not abound in striking aphorisms or in comprehensive views; and among the twenty-five short papers that make up the second half of the volume, I remark only three or four in which the treatment ceases to be practical and becomes in any degree literary. Of these, perhaps the essay on "Positivism" is the best, a well-informed piece of reviewing, strongly and clearly worded, but on the whole more like a recapitulation of the facts than a literary exposition of them. We must bear in mind that the current of modern speculation has hardly touched Ireland; there is no unbelief among Protestants or religious Liberalism among Catholics across the Irish Sea, and the standpoint from which these things are beheld and commented upon is not that of the mixed society of London or Paris. In like manner, "The last Thirty Years in the English Church," and some other sketches bearing on religion in England, are valuable as giving us an account of some things very familiar to English Catholics, from a coign of vantage they have never occupied. But these are neither the most important nor the most individual of the writings collected by the Bishop's friends. To find the man, we must read his Addresses. Their devotion to Ireland and Rome, their tact and dignity, their outspoken defence of such momentous Irish interests as that of education, their recognition of the great part that Irishmen are called on to play as pioneers of religion within and beyond the limits of the British Empire, bring before us the Bishop as he lived and died, and are a token of what he would surely have fulfilled had time been given him.

Let me note also the charming little story of the pilgrimage to Aran-More of St. Enda, and the sermon on St. Kyran of Clonmacnoise. There is much in them of the exquisite freshness, the open heart, and

gentle good humour which breathe from the old Irish songs, from the lives of Irish saints, and even from chronicles dwelling on war and feud like Keating's, and the Annals of the Four Masters. At Aran the Bishop of Ardagh said Mass in the ruined church of Teglach Enda, and he says:—

We can never forget the scene of that morning: the pure, bright sand covering the graves of unknown and unnumbered saints as with a robe of silver tissue; the delicate green foliage of the wild plants that rose here and there, as if wrought in embroidery on the white expanse. On the one side the swelling hill crowned with the church of Benignus, and on the other the blue sea that almost bathed the foundations of the venerable sanctuary; the soft, balmy air, that hardly stirred the ferns on the old walls; and the fresh, happy, solemn calm that reigned over all. (P. 476.)

This is a pretty picture of Aran in the sunshine; and for such simple people as gathered round to hear Mass that morning St. Carthage's rule might have been prescribed:—

When thou comest in to the Mass—
It is a noble office—
Let there be penitence of heart, shedding of tears,
And throwing up of hands.
There shall be no love lasting in thy heart
But the love of God alone:
Pure is the body thou receivest,
Pure must thou go to receive it.

WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.

L'Episcopat de Massillon, d'après des documents inédits. Suivi de sa Correspondance. Par l'Abbé BLAMPIGNON, Docteur en Théologie, &c. &c. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1884.

ONE special recommendation of this volume is that its author writes from an abundance of knowledge: Massillon, his works, the literature and history of his period, must be as "familiar as household words" to the Abbé Blampignon. It is nearly twenty years since he edited and annotated an edition of the "Œuvres de Massillon," and much more recently—in 1879—he brought out the "Vie de Massillon: la jeunesse et la prédication." It is to be noted that this last-named is really the first part of the work which is here concluded, and that it was not only well received, but is "approuvé pour les lycées." We need only further note that among the Abbé's other publications, his study of Malebranche was crowned by the Academy, and we have said enough to recommend both the matter and the manner of the present charming volume from the same pen. Massillon's sermons are perhaps what most English readers think of in connection with Massillon's name; here they may learn that after he had ceased to be a pulpit orator he lived for some twenty-three years the hard-working life of a country bishop. Both these volumes are valuable to the student as being "d'après des documents inédits," and as throwing not a few incidental gleams on the history of the Court, the Jansenists,

and on provincial life of that period ; but as regards Massillon himself this last volume is decidedly the more interesting and valuable. It reveals the once brilliant Parisian preacher living up to his own precepts in the distant diocese of Clermont. And we feel attracted to the gifted and devout-minded man who could not grow acclimatized to the frivolous and worldly atmosphere of Paris and Court, who had long desired to escape it all, and who started gladly for a mountainous and difficult diocese and the simplicity of its people. True, he found other trials in Auvergne, and in leaving Paris, "which a man like him could not regret, he left friends and habits and occupations which no one breaks from without pain ;" but it is pleasant to study a man who never considered his separation from Court and Academy and what not as exile. For that, Massillon was too zealous an ecclesiastic, too humble, too honest, too thorough and practical in his Catholic faith. He took possession of his See in 1719—let the reader go to the Abbé's pages for the quaint old customs attending a bishop's first arrival at Clermont—he was then fifty-six years of age ; for twenty-three years more he unselfishly and zealously devoted talents and energies to the government of his large diocese. Many places in its mountainous recesses were, we read, "inaccessibles aux voitures," yet to the end he went on repeating his episcopal visitations. His love of the poor was a distinguishing virtue ; his efforts to help them constant ; his relations with his clergy affectionate and sympathetic ; his zeal for the purity of the faith great, but, as the reader learns from not a few pages, not greater or more alert than was demanded by the stratagems and incessant shufflings and petty plots of the then active Jansenists. At Beauregard, his country residence, Massillon helped his beloved poor to help themselves : "he started a fruitful industry by introducing the art of cotton-spinning, still very backward at that time. He himself gave to each family a spinning-wheel and some pounds of raw material. And, through the long winter evenings and in leisure hours the women or aged who were detained at home had henceforward a useful employment." The book is full of anecdote and incident, and the temptation to quote is great, but must be resisted. We will merely note in passing that the description of scenery, villages, and towns in which the Abbé Blampignon sometimes frames the account of Massillon's visitations are often interesting as they are charming. At Vichy, for example, now prosperous and fashionable, the bishop, as we read, found in the May of 1733 only four Sisters of Charity—one for the school and three for the hospital. Very curious pages indeed are those in which the author describes to us the craze which prevailed early in the eighteenth century for reconstructing the Liturgy according to prevailing ideas of taste and criticism ; re-writing time-honoured hymns on classical models, admitting into saints' lives only, as was pretended, "absolutely contemporary testimony." That craze, like so many others, had to reach ridiculous limits before it died out, and meanwhile everybody was smitten. Finally we must be content to merely mention that the last hundred and forty pages of this volume are occupied with a "Correspondance Inédite" of Massillon, and that many of the letters

are of value as showing the character of the writer and the nature of the interests which filled his episcopal life.

Luther. An Historical Portrait. By J. VERRES, D.D. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1884.

THIS work and Father O'Connor's *brochure* already noticed a page or two back, are much alike in aim, and together they form a serious part of the aftermath of the Luther Centenary. The aim of each author has been to make Luther paint his own portrait, but Dr. Verres has carried out the plan into greater detail, and has, moreover, as frequently as not given in footnotes the Latin or German original of his translated quotations. His work is a volume of four hundred pages, and like Father O'Connor's pamphlet it has this fine recommendation, that it is a study of original sources. To give it the attention it deserves would demand a more lengthened notice than is possible at the late hour at which we get the book. We can only hope that, as its merits are so striking, it may speedily become a classic on the subject for English students. It opens with a good introductory chapter on "The Intellectual, Religious and Social State of Germany before Luther," a subject which ought to be carefully studied. Indeed it seems clear that the more thoroughly it is mastered in exactly that ratio is a student competent to deal with the whole Luther question in the concrete. Another chapter is devoted to "Luther before his 'Apostasy,'" and a third, which we have read with great pleasure, to "Luther and Tetzel." Dr. Verres' warm vindication of the great Dominican's good name is no warmer than it ought to be, and it is acceptable, coming as it does backed up by original documents. We commend the author's remarks in this chapter on the subject of Indulgences as clear and sufficient, yet brief: his tone here, as throughout, is moderate, and he is ready to make many due concessions as to the existence of abuses and the like. The drift of the remaining chapters will be sufficiently seen from their titles, and with that enumeration we must be, at least at present, content:—The Leipzig Disputation; Luther at Worms; Luther and the Bible; The "Evangelium"; Luther on the Priesthood and on Monasticism; The First Fruits of Private Judgment; Charity and Intolerance; "De servo arbitrio;" Luther on Matrimony; Luther and the Peasants; Luther and the Sacramentarians; Pope Luther; The "Confessio Augustana"; Schmalkalden; Fruits of the Reformation; Luther on Bigamy; Luther's Last Years; Luther's Character; Luther's Work at the Present Time. When in November last, the author tells us, the Right Rev. Dr. Bewick applied to Luther the epithets "foul-mouthed" and "scurrilous," the Presbyterians of Newcastle-on-Tyne strongly denounced such "pulpit Billingsgate"; if they had ever, he adds, seen a few pages of Luther's own works (not of the railway bookstall table-talk), they would have known on which side the Billingsgate was. This leads one to repeat with the author that his

book is for students, not for the drawing-room; and to the further remark, that if Dr. Verres' translations are sometimes "strong," and the originals in the footnotes are still stronger, the shame and the blame lie, as he points out, with the would-be Evangelist of God. "I have not," he says, "studiously picked out the worst sayings of Luther. . . . On the contrary, the worst sayings have been excluded, nor have any of the passages quoted been admitted without due deliberation, or without the approbation of friends on whose judgment I can rely."

It may be well to remark that the style in which the volume is written is animated, and as regards English is on the whole correct. The typography has been done in Germany, and the author makes an apology for the misprints, which he would do well, however, to remedy in a second edition; and we hope he will have the pleasure of seeing a second edition called for. With the concluding sentence of his preface we conclude our notice of his book, wishing it a large success in removing fatal prejudices and prevalent misrepresentations.

As a German, I wish to use this opportunity to protest against an assertion which recently has been made *ad nauseam* in English books and pamphlets and newspaper articles—viz., that Luther is the national hero of Germany. He is nothing of the kind. Let it be said that he is the hero of the Protestant part of that nation. But there are 26,000,000 of German Catholics in the German empire and in Austria—i.e., nearly half of the Germans in Europe. Are they so insignificant a fraction, so worthless a lot of pariahs, that a man may be made a "national" hero without their concurrence?

Allocutions to the Clergy, and Pastorals. By the late Right Rev. Dr. MORIARTY, Bishop of Kerry. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.

WE may venture to say that any one who had the happiness of knowing the late Bishop Moriarty will be glad to have this memorial of him. We are not surprised at what we read in the dedicatory epistle, where the editors, by permission, place the volume under the patronage of His Eminence Cardinal Newman. We read that in reply to their application to him, His Eminence answered:—

I cannot have a greater favour or a greater pleasure done me than you so kindly propose by dedicating to me the volume of Dr. Moriarty's *Allocutions*. . . . I have ever felt the truest love and gratitude towards him. He was indeed a rare friend, one of ten thousand. He is in Heaven doubtless, but I mention him always in Mass, from the good which I am sure I can get from him.

The volume is composed of the *Allocutions*, seventeen in number, which the Bishop addressed to his clergy in the various Diocesan Synods between the years 1854 and 1876, and of half a dozen *Pastoral Letters*. The *Allocutions* are concerned with the various duties and obligations of the clergy; they are earnest in tone, clear, pointed, and full of theological lore. And yet the simplicity of their earnestness is remarkable; the heart of the humble prelate speaks almost more than

his cultured and devout mind. No less pleasing a feature is the cordial and fraternal manner which pervades them all, the considerateness, the affection for his priests, the slowness to lay on them a burden, or to exact from them beyond what he felt he was in duty constrained. One or two of these Synodal addresses appear to us to be particularly happy and forcibly written, for example one on the "Care of the Sick and Dying," another on the "Care of the Dead," a third on "The Holy Sacrifice," and still another, a very excellent one indeed, on "Fraternal Charity;" but we shall refrain from quoting as the treatment is entirely with reference to priestly obligations. The Pastorals are naturally of more general interest. One on "The Church Establishment," written in the March of 1867, read in connection with a letter of the Bishop to Lord Carlingford (then Mr. Fortescue), and which is given in this collection, is even now not without interest. A short quotation from another pastoral, written in 1871, is all we have space for. Its title is "On Papal Infallibility," and it contains *inter alia* one of the most lucid explanations that we have seen of what Infallibility really is.

But was there freedom of debate [at the Vatican Council]? Most certainly. And the plain proof is, that a minority acting throughout with the purest intentions, and urged by a conscientious conviction that it was for the good of the Church to leave the question untouched, prolonged the discussion for eight months. Every difficulty was fully and fearlessly proposed. No man shrank from saying what he believed to be right, no matter how opposed his opinion might be to those of the great body of the assembly; and for that freedom of speech no one suffered displeasure or disgrace. When on a few occasions, the prescribed forms seemed to embarrass the minority, no one feared to protest. . . . Few also were the calls to order by the presidents of the Council; and they were never unreasonable.

There were amongst us, and we were of the number, who believed that the perfect harmony and obedience which prevailed in the Church rendered the decree unnecessary; that it might increase, in some, the difficulty of belief or conversion. . . . The case is now closed for ever. We believe in the decrees of the Vatican for the same reason that we believe in the decrees of Trent. Humanly speaking with more reason, for the Church was more largely represented. Bishops were there from the oldest Churches in Christendom, and from Churches which did not exist, from countries which were not known, when the Council sat at Trent. The result is the most splendid manifestation ever seen of the working of the great principle of Catholic unity (p. 389).

Dissertationes selectae in historiam ecclesiasticam. Auctore BERNARDO JUNGMANN. Ratisbonae: Pustet. Vols. III., IV. 1882, 1884.

THE first two volumes of these dissertations were noticed at the time of their publication. In the next two volumes will be found ten dissertations which cover a period of very nearly three centuries. Professor Jungmann's chief aim in these learned studies is the defence of the Holy See; and he has pursued it thus far with success. The important questions by which the Church was agitated

during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries are of a present as well as historical interest; they were dragged before the public at the time of the Vatican Council and eagerly discussed. On some of the topics, notably that of the donation of Charlemagne and the beginnings of the temporal power of the Holy See, discussion continues even now in Germany. It is, therefore, very creditable to our author that he has selected those controverted topics, and that he has treated them as successfully as would be anticipated from a Louvain professor. The five dissertations contained in the third volume are headed: "The Iconoclast Heresy," "The Temporal Princedom of the Roman Pontiff," "Empire and Church in the Ninth Century," "Some *Causes célèbres* of the Ninth Century, and the Pseudo-Isidoran Decretals," and lastly, "The Photian Schism."

On the controverted point as to whether Gregory II., who had to suffer so much from Constantinople, did release Italy from allegiance to the Emperor and the Italians from payment of tribute, the author sides with those historians who deny the alleged fact. Even Pope Zacharias strenuously enjoined on the Italians their duty towards Constantinople. The discussions on Pope Hadrian II. and the eighth general council to which Mgr. Maret so unhappily set himself in 1869, give occasion to our author of testing that prelate's Gallican opinions. The dissertation on the false Decretals is one of the most important. The decretals were of Gallican origin, and were first appealed to in France. But, on the other hand, they did not bring about a new system of ecclesiastical discipline. What they contended for was only the defence of the clergy against the encroachments of the secular power. The discipline they inculcated is involved in the axiom that "cause majores" are exclusively reserved to the Holy See. But this solemn principle, so far from being an innovation or violent interruption, has been generally held from the very first beginnings of the Church.

The fourth volume opens with a timely statement directed against those historians who are accustomed so to speak of certain "dark ages," as thereby to suggest the utterly false idea of an entire corruption in the Church. The existence of much corruption in the ninth and tenth centuries may readily be admitted. Secular princes reigned over the Church in more than one country of Europe; the Holy See was several times occupied by men whose lives were not altogether spotless, and the law of celibacy was disgracefully neglected. But notwithstanding that, the Church, being God's bride, neither did, nor indeed could, cease to be pure and holy. Starting from this axiom, Professor Jungmann has the following dissertations: "On the Roman Pontiffs of the Tenth Century," "On certain Controversies of the Tenth Century," "On the Condition of the Church in the middle of the Eleventh Century," "On St. Gregory VII," and lastly, "On the Controversy regarding Investitures." Special interest seems to be attached to the sections of the second dissertation which treat on the question of "Re-ordinations," and the Greek controversy about a fourth marriage (tetragamia). Here Professor Jungmann follows the fine exposition of Cardinal Hergen-

roether in his learned work on Photius (vol. iii., Ratisbon, 1868). Our author, however, searches and judges for himself, treating the question in quite a masterly manner. Morinus's opinion on the re-ordinations of the ninth century is fully tested and discarded. Special praise is due to him for the vindication of St. Gregory VII., who neither can be proved to have aimed at establishing a universal monarchy, nor wantonly to have usurped the rights of secular princes. An unprejudiced perusal of the official documents of that great Pope show that he never exceeded his power, but, on the contrary, in deposing wicked princes, he appears supported not only by the public law of Christian Europe, but what is to be urged against Gosselin, likewise by Divine law.

BELLESHEIM.

L'Ecole Menaisienne. Montalembert. Par Mgr. RICARD, Professeur de Théologie Dogmatique aux Facultés d'Aix et de Marseille. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1884.

THIS is the fourth and last volume of Mgr. Ricard's series entitled "L'Ecole Menaisienne," the former volumes having been devoted respectively to Lamennais, Gerbert et Salinis, and Lacordaire. The present sketch of Montalembert is very pleasantly written, and the author is so thoroughly versed in the details of his period that we can readily recommend his little volume. After all the Montalembert literature, there is an attractive freshness about Mgr. Ricard's pages; they are lively with anecdote, and a frequent use of Montalembert's own words and speeches is so effective as to impart quite a charm, besides giving to the book a character of its own. Many who have read, perhaps, only Mrs. Oliphant's gracefully written volumes on Montalembert will find Mgr. Ricard's an admirable supplement. Naturally it retraces much of the same ground, but it has other details, and it is written from a French and a Catholic point of view. This last fact makes the treatment of some points particularly interesting. The last chapter, headed "Comment finit Montalembert," is intensely interesting and is also satisfactory. The details of the Count's last moments are more touchingly related here than we have read elsewhere, and we are glad to see it here put on lasting record that when the news arrived of Montalembert's death, Pius IX. ordered a solemn requiem service to be celebrated at Rome; a fitting tribute to a noble and loyal servant, who (impulsive words notwithstanding) uniformly lived, as he also died, in the spirit of his famous phrase, the motto of his public life, "L'Eglise c'est une Mère."

Allocutions, or Short Addresses on Liturgical Observances and Ritual Functions. With Appendices, &c. By the Author of "Programmes of Sermons and Instructions," &c. &c. Dublin : Browne & Nolan. 1884.

FROM a letter of Approbation prefixed to this volume, we may extract a sentence, as expressive of our own feelings, and as

having doubtless a wider application than is there given to it by its writer, the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin. His Eminence says:—

All who have experience of the missionary life in Ireland know that a priest who throws himself unreservedly into the work of his sacred ministry will have very little leisure for the study of heavy liturgical books. It may also happen that all who have time for such studies may not have aptitude for selecting the matter which is calculated to instruct or interest their hearers. Therefore I welcome your "Allocutions" as being well suited to supply accessible and accurate information on the subjects to which they refer.

These "Allocutions," or more properly "Short Addresses," have the characteristics of the author's "Programmes of Sermons;" they are devout and earnest in tone, marked by great simplicity of style, and they are hortatory rather than doctrinal, but containing much instructive exposition. But they are not exactly programmes, they are brief but consecutive addresses. They will serve as suggestive foundations for sermons, or they might profitably enough be read as they stand at an early Mass: no one of them would take more than ten minutes to read, and the run of them not more than six. In many families, too, there is a want felt of something appropriate for the festival of the morrow to be read at night prayers, something pertinent and also pious in tone about Ash Wednesday, for example, or Candlemas, Septuagesima or Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday, and Holy Week, or Low Sunday, and other liturgical solemnities; the present will be found to be a suitable book. A second division of this volume contains more short addresses for the occasions of such ritual functions as Infant Baptism and Confirmation, Penance and Communion. These are excellent, and might often be made to do seasonable service. There are also "Words" to be used at a funeral, at a marriage, and at the administration of the last sacraments. The Council of Trent lays stress on the desirability of these short addresses in the administration of the sacraments, when they can be conveniently done: the pastor is to make them "pie, prudenterque, etiam lingua vernacula"—these addresses fulfil the requirements. Lastly, the zealous author adds a series of eight appendices, giving rules and most practical suggestions for Christian Doctrine Confraternities, for a Parochial Lending Library, and other parochial and useful organizations.

Auxilium Prædicatorum; or, a Short Gloss upon the Gospels. With Hints as to their use in Sermons. Vol. I. St. Matthew. Vol. II. St. Mark and St. Luke. By the Rev. PIUS DEVINE, Passionist. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.

GOOD and useful books are always welcome, and we think we may safely put F. Pius's "Auxilium Prædicatorum" in this category. These volumes will prove useful to hard-worked missionary priests, who have so many sermons to preach and so little time to prepare them. F. Pius, who has had ample experience in the labour of

preaching, and knows well the brain-work implied in it, has published his work as a help in this ever-pressing and difficult task.

In the two volumes before us we have the Gospels of Saints Matthew, Mark, and Luke, with pithy, suggestive, short commentaries, and points for discourses. Each chapter is divided into sections comprising several verses of the sacred text; a short and for the most part excellent practical gloss on each section; and then "sets" of points for sermons on the commented verses. Sometimes there are as many as six sets of points—that is, points for six sermons. There is often an originality and freshness in the points suggested, and we cannot but think that if they were well worked out, striking and fruitful sermons would be the result.

F. Pius seems to think that he has done all the hard work for the preacher by his "Auxilium."

The plan [he says in his preface] pursued in the following work will help a man to prepare a discourse in a short time. The brief gloss upon the text will refresh his memory; and the points of the discourse being set for him, as rising naturally from verses of the sacred Scripture, will enable him without very great trouble to prepare a sermon for his people. He has simply to put an exordium, fill up the points with a little reasoning, an instance or two from the Old Testament, one of the texts of the New amplified somewhat, then add an example. When each point is treated in this manner, and an epilogue added which brings one to the peroration, the thing is done.

Considering that F. Pius has had much to do with young ecclesiastics, he knows well what hard, slow work sermon-making oftentimes is for them; how difficult to make a beginning at all; how slowly ideas come; how hard to clothe them in suitable language; how hard to amplify and find telling illustrations; in fine, what a laborious task it often is to produce a respectable sermon. Hence F. Pius's easy, glib recipe sounds like sarcasm—probably it is so. Of course, "points" or "suggestions," however excellent they may be, will never dispense the preacher from labour. The preacher must think and work a good deal for himself, if he is to furnish even a moderately good sermon. F. Pius offers an "auxilium" in this labour, and for those who know how to think, who have a facility of expression, and a ready command of words, his volumes will no doubt be of great service.

Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata. Edidit JOAN. BAPTISTA
CARD. PITRA, Ep. Tusculanus, S. E. R. Bibliothecarius. Tomm.
II. et III.

THE great work upon which Cardinal Pitra has been for so many years engaged is at length approaching completion. To ransack the libraries of Europe and the East, to search for the lost writings of the early fathers of the Church, and to annotate, print and publish the result of their labour, was one of the aims which the Benedictines of Solesmes set before themselves at their restoration just half a century ago; and the collection of inedited writings of the patristic period,

published under the title of "Spicilegium Solesmense," gave the world a proof that the patience, industry, and research of the old Maurists had revived among their modern representatives. Dom Pitra, the principal contributor to the "Spicilegium Solesmense," was in due time called to a more exalted sphere of literary labour than was afforded by the library of Solesmes, and the talent which had done such good work when in comparative obscurity was destined to attain even more excellent results when the library of the Holy Roman Church was entrusted to his care. For a time, as we need hardly remind our readers, Dom Pitra, before his elevation to the Cardinalate in 1863, was engaged by special command of Pio Nono in the preparation of a magnificent work on the Canon Law of the Greek Church ("Juris Ecclesiastici Græcorum Historia et Monuments"); a work, be it remarked, which is still far from complete, though three more volumes are announced as ready for the press. When the approaching completion of his labours in this department of sacred science gave him more leisure, Cardinal Pitra resumed his former occupation of searching for the fragments of patristic writing which had escaped the notice of previous compilers. In 1876 appeared the first volume of his "Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata," devoted chiefly to a collection of early Greek hymns and poems on scriptural subjects, and the saints and martyrs of the primitive Church. The prefatory essay, "De re rhythmica," will probably long be classical to all who would know what need be known of the system, methods, characteristics and beauties of the Christian hymnologists of the Greek Church. The poems and hymns in this volume, many of them now printed for the first time, were drawn from some twenty of the principal libraries up and down Europe. A Latin translation, frequent notes, and a copious index, increase tenfold the value of the work.

Next in order of publication (1882), though the eighth volume of the series, was a most valuable and welcome addition to the ascetical literature of the Middle Ages. This was a new edition of some of the works of St. Hildegarde, the renowned prophet-saint of Mount St. Rupert, the counsellor of kings and bishops, and the most wonderful woman of her age. Of her writings, the book called "Vitæ Meritorum" is here published for the first time; so are one hundred and forty-five letters of the saint, written to men and women of every class, and to all parts of Christendom: a valuable addition to the other hundred and forty-five letters of St. Hildegard which were already in print in other works. The "Vitæ Meritorum," which like all else in the volume is very carefully annotated, is published from a manuscript in possession of the Belgian Benedictines of Termonde. The Cardinal had intended to offer this volume to his monastic brethren on the fourteenth centenary of their patriarch St. Benedict, but the discovery of the aforesaid letters and other matter of interest happily decided him to postpone its publication for a year or two, till justice could be done to the ample store of new material which had meanwhile come to his notice.

The fourth volume of the "Analecta," published last year, gave us

the fruits of the laborious collections of the Abbé Martin, a zealous collaborateur of Cardinal Pitra in the field of patristic research. Most of its contents are drawn from the Syriac and Armenian manuscripts of the Ante-Nicene fathers preserved in the British Museum Library, to transcribe which, as the Cardinal delicately puts it, the Abbé "ter quaterque mare emensus, cimmerias Londini nebulas penetravit."

To come at last to the lately published volumes—the second and third—which have suggested this notice. The reader will not fail to read the touching dedication to his long-suffering brethren of Solesmes; * nor will he easily forget the brilliant introduction wherein the eminent editor expatiates on the holiness of life, the stirring eloquence, and the deep knowledge of sacred Scripture of the Ante-Nicene fathers. Especially valuable are his remarks on the great authority of their testimony to apostolic tradition, and his dissertation on the early origin and general use of an allegorical interpretation of sacred Scripture. As this subject is generally misunderstood, we venture to offer our readers an extract which gives the key to the whole question:—

Quaerenti autem quae causa fuerit hujusce consuetudinis altera summa lex occurrit, salus animarum. Quum in coetibus publicis verba sacra intercederent, quum ex ambo semper paginae sacrae in quacumque synaxi recitarentur, sane priscis interpretibus non multum erat nudam litteram et jejuna nomina executere, arida temporum puncta et discrimina ventilare. Sed quum in sacris oraculis evolvendis summopere interesset Christianorum sanctitati prodesse, in hoc potissimum nervos et lacertos intenderunt. Mirum est quanta cum solertia, quanto acumine, quanta varietate, omnia ad sanctitatem augendam et ornandam convertant: etiam diverticula persequi affectant, etiam allegorias et parabolas undecumque accersunt ad animos expergefaciendos. Quot versus, tot monita; quot vocabula, vel Hebraeorum, tot vitae exempla: quot apices, tot morum sacramenta.

The chief interest of these two volumes will be found, we think, in the history of this system of allegorical interpretation and in the light thrown upon it by the publication of the "Clavis," or Key, of St. Melito, Bishop of Sardis (c. A.D. 160). In various parts of the second volume notices of this matter are frequent, and the Cardinal gives a graphic account, by way of supplement, in a French essay (pp. 585-623) of his own early love for this branch of study, and of his long hunt after the "Codex Claromontanus," wherein the "Clavis" of St. Melito was to be found. This famous Codex, formerly in the Jesuit College of Clermont at Paris, had disappeared at the French Revolution, and Cardinal Pitra, after vainly searching for it in London, Oxford, and various parts of Holland, had the good fortune to light upon it in the Barberini Library at Rome. Before this valuable discovery, a transcript of the Bodleian manuscript of the "Clavis" had been made for Dom Pitra's use by the late Father

* "Solesmensibus meis, ex abbatia matre S. Petri ter vi militari expulsis, Deo excubias agentes circum pratis et fratrum sepulchra, anti-nicaeni testes tribus aucti voluminibus solatio spei et victoriae sint."

Dalgairns and Mr. Francis Bowles before their conversion; this he had collated with a codex in the Strasbourg Library, now alas! destroyed, and was beginning to despair of ever finding the Clermont original, when its opportune discovery in Rome enabled him to give an exact edition of what was for centuries a textbook of commentators, preachers and ascetical writers.

Besides acknowledging the services of Father Dalgairns and others of the Littlemore fraternity, Cardinal Pitra puts on record the kind offices which he has received from other Englishmen—the late Mr. Cureton, Father Stevenson, &c.; and is loud in his praises of the English edition of the *Apostolic Fathers*, published in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, by Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh.

As to the contents of these later volumes of the "*Analecta Sacra*," we would direct attention to the exact edition of so much as has been recovered of Origen's wonderful Commentary on Job and the Book of Psalms; to the "*Formularies*" of St. Eucherius of Lyons, a work similar in character to the "*Clavis*" of St. Melito; and to the Armenian and Syriac fragments of the writings of St. Papias of Hierapolis, and St. Irenæus, from the archives of the Armenian Benedictines at Venice. The Commentary of Eusebius of Alexandria, on the Psalms and Canticle of Canticles; some small additions to the writings of St. Gregory of Neocæsarea, and St. Methodius; the discovery in an ancient Vatican copy of the works of Denis the Areopagite of the "*Hymnus Divinus*," attributed to that writer, though sometimes ascribed to St. Gregory Nazianzen; and other matters of considerable interest, will cause these latest proofs of Cardinal Pitra's learned industry to receive due attention from all who have at heart the promotion of ecclesiastical learning and the defence of Catholic faith.

The Life of Christ. By DR. BERNHARD WEISS. Translated by JOHN WALTER HOPE, M.A. 3 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. By ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M.A. Oxon, D.D., Ph.D. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

IT is a matter of surprise to observe the number and success of the various Lives of Christ which are so frequently appearing. The works of Canon Farrar and Dr. Geikie are bulky, and yet they have exhausted many editions. This constant demand on the part of the English public is a proof of the inexhaustible interest of the Life of our lives and of the widespread desire to learn more of Him than the Gospel tells. The general character of the Lives supplied, however inferior when judged by Catholic standards, is at least an evidence that both writers and readers have a firm faith in our Lord's Divinity. It is, perhaps, more surprising that authors should be found bold

enough to tread such sacred ground at the call of a speculative publisher.

Of the two Lives before us, one is a German importation, the other a home production. Both are exhaustive and learned works, and each can plead a certain justification for its existence. Dr. Weiss has an answer to give to infidel critics, and Dr. Edersheim would present a portrait of our Lord drawn from a special point of view. The work of the former will have attractions to the lovers of German higher criticism, but the work of the latter will be more interesting to the general reader.

Dr. Weiss's book is largely occupied with the discussion of theories about the Gospels and their mutual relation one to another. This, of course, is a very favourite subject with German theologians, who are always wanting to tear our Gospels to pieces, and then construct what they are pleased to call the Primitive Gospel. Dr. Weiss's special view is that the Aramaic Matthew is the original source of the Synoptic Gospels; that the original document is lost, but is in some form preserved in our Greek Matthew. Dr. Weiss treats the Evangelists as "redactors" of this original document, and is not altogether pleased with their performance. As a controversial work, its value is lessened through the peculiar standpoint of the learned author. He is neither orthodox nor infidel; he is not so much concerned to defend the Gospel as it is, but as he thinks it should be; he tries to run with the hare of orthodox belief, and at the same time to hunt with the dogs of destructive criticism. Despite these defects, Dr. Weiss gives many a good answer to the "tendenz-critik" school, and some sound reproof to the followers of Strauss, and Keim, and Renan. Mr. Hope's translation is open to criticism, on account of its affected mannerisms. The translator's only note is not a happy one—that "Mark played Boswell to Peter's Johnson!" (vol. i. p. 44).

The special aim of Dr. Edersheim is to describe our Lord as an Israelite amongst Israelites, speaking their tongue and living their life. Rabbinic literature has been the author's devoted study, as is proved by his previous works. Talmud, Targum, and Midrash are laid under contribution to enable his readers to picture to themselves "the Land" as it was in Christ's time. He takes his readers with him to the Temple, and explains its sacrifices and its ritual; he goes with them to the markets and tells them even the prices of things; he enters with them into the Synagogue, and explains its services. The schools of rival Rabbis are open to him; he is on intimate terms with Pharisee, Sadducee, and Essene. This close acquaintance with the Jewish world enables Dr. Edersheim to throw much side-light on the Gospel narrative, or, in other words, to give a picture of Christ with a Jewish background and in a Jewish setting. The effect which the picture must produce upon all who examine it is to reveal the infinite greatness of our Lord by contrast with the smallness of His local surroundings. Some question may be raised as to the value of Dr. Edersheim's Rabbinic authorities, and how far their statements may be accepted as true in the time of our Lord. For instance, it is clear from Dr.

Edersheim's showing that the strange belief about the two Messiahs—the suffering Messiah of the tribe of Joseph and the glorious Messiah of the House of David—dates only from the second century. Then, again, some of the analogous sayings of Jewish Rabbis which are used to illustrate Christ's words have a suspicious look of having been stolen from Christian Gospels.

One thing we have to thank Dr. Edersheim for, and it is this—that with his overwhelming knowledge he has put to silence some noisy pretenders to Rabbinic science. Canon Farrar had asserted that the Jews in our Lord's time did not believe in eternal punishment. On the contrary, Dr. Edersheim proves from the schools of Hillel and Shammai that such was the belief in the first century, but that in the second century some Rabbis taught otherwise. The late Dean Stanley, followed by others, talked about the key which was given to Rabbis on their ordination. But Dr. Edersheim assures us there was nothing of the sort. Dr. Geikie, in his "Life of Christ," gave wings to his imagination, and introduced what he called "evening scenes in Nazareth, when friends or neighbours of Joseph's circle would meet for an hour's quiet gossip" (!). As a specimen of this "quiet gossip," Dr. Geikie gives a number of Rabbinic quotations from the German translation in Duke's "Rabbinische Blumenlese." Dr. Edersheim's reply is crushing:—

1. There were no such learned Rabbis in Nazareth. 2. If there had been, they would not have been visitors in the house of Joseph. 3. If they had been visitors there, they would not have spoken what Dr. Geikie quotes from Duke, since some of the extracts are from mediæval books, and only one a proverbial expression. 4. Even if they had so spoken, it would at least have been in the words which Duke has translated, without the changes and additions which Dr. Geikie has introduced in some instances (vol. i. p. 233, note 3).

The learned work of Dr. Edersheim is not without its drawbacks. The style is very cumbrous and overweighted with Hebrew. It is in vain for Dr. Edersheim to attempt to emulate Canon Farrar in sensational writing. On textual points the learned author follows Dr. Westcott too slavishly, and makes very free in rejecting such passages as John v. 4, 5; viii. 1-11. But the worst fault is a weak courting of Protestant praise by not unfrequent allusions to "Roman sensuousness" in worship. Whether Dr. Edersheim is himself a convert from Judaism is not stated, but he ought surely to know that the most learned Jews who have embraced Christianity have, with but few exceptions, become Roman Catholics and not Protestants. Again, to please Protestant prejudice, Dr. Edersheim sets himself the hopeless task of trying to establish from Hebrew writers a distinction between Πέρπος and Πέρπα. On the other hand, he gives in an Appendix the curious Jewish legend about Simon Kephas, which in its present form he thinks belongs to the eighth century. This tells how Peter went to the metropolis of the Nazarenes and died there; and that after his death the Nazarenes raised a great fabric, "and this tower may be seen in Rome, and they call it Peter, which is the word

for a stone, because he sat on a stone till the day of his death" (vol. ii. p. 787). This at least should prove to Protestants that the Jewish tradition about St. Peter at Rome is the same as the Catholic.

The Gospel according to St. Matthew, from the St. Germain MS. (g.).

Edited by JOHN WORDSWORTH, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1883.

THE Delegates of the Clarendon Press deserve the best thanks of Scripture scholars for undertaking to edit some of the most valuable of the old-Latin Biblical texts, and for entrusting the work to so competent a critic as Professor Wordsworth. The St. Germain (*g.*), the Bobbio (*k.*), and the Munich (*q.*) MSS. form the first series. Of these the first-named only has appeared. In thus devoting their attention to the old-Latin MSS., the Delegates are continuing a work begun by Bentley, who was the first English scholar to estimate the true value of the old-Latin readings as a guide to the emendation of the Greek text. Bentley spared no pains or expense in obtaining transcripts of the best Latin MSS., and in this he was ably seconded by Dr. John Walker, Archdeacon of Hereford in 1728, "whose uncommon learning and sweetness of temper, joined to all other Christian perfections, and accompanied with a pleasing form of body, justly rendered him the delight and ornament of mankind"—at least so his epitaph says, as quoted by Professor Wordsworth. Clarissimus Walker, as Bentley styled him, met with great kindness and valuable aid from the Maurist Benedictines, who were engaged upon a similar work. They succeeded, but Bentley and Walker failed. This led Professor Wordsworth to make the following very true observation:—

Had Bentley belonged to a religious order, or rather had our colleges fulfilled the intentions of their foundation, his work, like Sabatier's, might have been completed by other hands. It is a melancholy reflection for an Englishman. But probably there are no instances of such unworldly devotion to sacred literature, and such brotherly union in study, in any society of learned men, as were exhibited by the Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur.

The St. Germain MS. belongs to the time of Alcuin, and was written by a scribe named Rathbold or Ratboth. Robert Stephens was the first to call attention to it by selecting readings from it for his folio Bible of 1538. The MS. was then entire; it is now sadly mutilated. It is marked by several peculiarities. The Epistles of St. Paul are put last in order in the New Testament Scriptures. St. Matthew's Gospel begins thus: "Deus fecit Adam, Adam genuit Seth," &c., as far as Abraham. Then follows "Liber generationis Jesu Christi." There are also many peculiar readings, spellings, and punctuations. But the question of greatest interest lies in regard to the character of the text followed by the copyist. It has usually been classed among the old-Latin texts. The subscription at the end of the MS.—"Bibliotheca Hieronimi presb. Bethleem secundum Grecum ex emendates mis exemplaribus conlatus"—seems to prove that it is based

on the Vulgate. Dr. Hort classes it with mixed or eclectic texts. Professor Wordsworth says: "I conclude from this examination that the basis of our book was not a Hieronymian text, but a mixture of the Italian and European texts, which was corrected occasionally by the Vulgate, but has a large peculiar element, perhaps drawn from several MSS."

The Origin of Religion and Language. Considered in Five Essays.
By F. C. COOK, M.A., Editor of "The Speaker's Commentary,"
&c. London: J. Murray. 1884.

SPECIALISTS naturally feel gratified when the sciences to which they have consecrated life and strength are becomingly appreciated by the literary world, and serious studies are accepted and read. And such a work as that which we now bring into notice will surely recommend itself to every serious reader. Canon Cook's book is interesting both for its subject and for the manner in which that subject is treated. What, indeed, can be more interesting than the question of the origin of religion and language to any man not exclusively given over to mere material concerns?

The book is divided into two chief parts, sufficiently indicated by the title itself. In the first part, dedicated to Religion, Canon Cook gives his attention chiefly to India and Persia, inquiring into the origin of their beliefs. As regards India, his chapter is of course consecrated to the Vedas, whilst his attention is given to the cuneiform inscriptions, the Avesta, and more especially the Gâthâs, in what concerns Persia. He traces religions back to a primitive monotheism, and finds traces of Biblical influence in the Avesta. At each step we can only say that Canon Cook's erudition is great and thorough. He is completely up in all the great works which have been written on his subject; he has studied them *à fond*, understood, and makes excellent use of them. He gives everywhere token of sound judgment and singular perspicacity. If he will permit me one remark, I would like to say that I do not at all, as he thinks, regard naturalism as the unique source of polytheistic religions. I only think that such is most frequently the case, and that the great part of myths even have that origin. For, in reality, it was not possible to create myths of the divinized elements—Jupiter's marriage, the labours of Hercules, &c.—except after having divinized the elements themselves. To suppose that this last was done by change of language without preceding change of ideas—that certainly does not appear to me rational. I should like also to mention to Canon Cook that Haug never saw the second edition of my translation.

The second part treats of Language: first, in general, and of their divisions and their relations and common origin. In this connection Canon Cook constructs a comparative table of Egyptian, Semitic, Aryan, and Turanian words, and he concludes for a common origin of all these languages. This part of his work has been so fiercely criticized as to throw the merits of the former portions into the shade.

We deem it a duty as critic to point out this injustice. Certainly in the comparative table there are words, and not a few, of very dubious connection. The author himself knows well words of very different origin often descend, by successive degradations, to an almost complete identity, and that even in the same language. What affinity, for example, is there between one French *son* (sonus) and *son* (suum)? In these matters one must be very prudent. Before establishing these affinities, it is of primary necessity to know the phonic laws of the languages, the ancient forms of words, and the system of successive degradations. It is further necessary to be cautious as to deductions drawn from more or less happy affinities. In spite of deficiencies, it would be extremely unjust not to recognize, in the author of this book, sound erudition, wide knowledge, and great clearness. Another merit is his manifest freedom from religious prejudices; every one, Catholics, too, may read him. We can only express our hope that Canon Cook will pursue and perfect this line of study.

CHARLES DE HARLEZ.

Maria Stuart und ihre Ankläger zu York, Westminster und Hampton Court. Von Dr. BERNHARD SEPP. Munich: Lindauer. 1884.

THIS is not a fresh defence of Mary Stuart, but a republication in one volume of certain important items of evidence—viz., an account contained in three letters sent by the English Commissioners to Queen Elizabeth, of the preliminary conference at York, and the minutes in full of the two subsequent conferences at Westminster and Hampton Court, which together make up all the judicial inquiry there ever was into the complicity of Mary in her husband's murder. Dr. Sepp writes a short but full introduction, and adds an occasional commentary, in which he has inserted various other documents of an interesting character. Among these are the so-called Ainsley band, the two marriage contracts between Mary and Bothwell, the depositions at Edinburgh of William Powrie, George Dalgleish, John Hay, and John Hepburn, concerning the plot to blow up the Kirk of Field, and the manner of its execution; and, lastly, the confessions of Hepburn, Tallo, and Dalgleish on the scaffold. A German translation, very close to the original, accompanies each, and is printed in parallel columns with them. The source from which Dr. Sepp has taken his materials, with one small exception, is James Anderson's "Collections relating to the History of Mary Stuart," now a scarce work. But he has occasion to show, as he goes along, that his acquaintance with his subject is minute and faithful. In a previous essay he had undertaken to clear up the mystery of the Casket Letters, which, however we may judge of Queen Mary, have hitherto perplexed every inquirer into their origin, and have disappeared as unaccountably as they first came to light. Dr. Sepp holds that they are partly genuine, but are not letters at all—only fragments of a diary of the Queen during her stay at Glasgow from January 23 to 27, 1567. But this is not the theme of his present little volume. Still, his bias cannot be mistaken; he thinks Mary

innocent, and takes great pains honestly to point out the flaws, discrepancies, and spots of darkness in the evidence brought against her, if evidence it can be called. In the main article, that of her sharing in the plot to murder Darnley, it is of the flimsiest. One important point is clearly proved; the so-called originals of the Casket Letters were never examined by competent persons, nor decided to be in the handwriting of Mary, except on the assertion of her deadliest enemies and accusers. There is no independent witness of any kind to their genuineness, possible and probable though it be, as Dr. Sepp thinks, that fragments of them were really the Queen's. On such evidence it was out of the question for any tribunal to come to a conclusion, and, in fact, the last conference broke up, at Elizabeth's command, without deciding one way or the other. Yet many modern historians, with no other proofs before them, have passed sentence on Mary as a murderer.

In spite of the judicial long-windedness of these letters and minutes, and their astounding hypocrisy and "flunkeyism" towards Elizabeth, they are highly dramatic, interesting, and real. The notes could not be better; Dr. Sepp is very lucid and precise. Apparently he has raised somewhat of a storm in the Fatherland, and his "asides" on the subject of Herr Breslau, who has written with some warmth against Queen Mary, are a not unpleasant relief to the painfulness of Mary's history. Even the unforgiving Puritan, Carlyle, who declares he "must leave her condemned," cannot help adding, "With irresistible sympathy one is tempted to pity this poor sister-soul, involved in such a chaos of contradictions, and hurried down to tragical destruction by them. No Clytemnestra or Medea, when one thinks of that last scene in Fotheringhay, is more essentially a theme of tragedy." It is because Mary the murderer seems so much more tragical than Mary innocent that the late historians are unwilling to acquit her. But the most awful and heart-subduing tragedy the world ever witnessed was the death, not of the guilty, but the innocent; and to those who cannot think of Mary as a Clytemnestra, the record of what was said and done to her by her Scottish subjects, and Elizabeth after them, will be the more painful that they believe she never gave them cause. Dr. Sepp, though indirectly, has made a valuable contribution to her defence.

WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.

Sacred Eloquence; or, the Theory and Practice of Preaching. By Rev. THOMAS J. POTTER. Fourth Edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1883.

A NOTHER edition of this excellent students' manual has been called for, and that itself is what we have pleasure in noting. It is the practical and best recommendation of a book which has been largely used and tested since it was written by the late lamented author, who was for so many years Professor of Sacred Eloquence in All Hallows College.

Ireland in the Seventeenth Century ; or, the Irish Massacres of 1641-2, their Causes and Results. Illustrated by extracts from the unpublished State Papers, the unpublished MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Lambeth Library, and the Library of the Royal Dublin Society, relating to the Plantations of 1610-39 ; a selection from the unpublished Depositions relating to the Massacres, with facsimiles ; and the Reports of the Trials in the High Court of Justice in 1652-4, from the unpublished MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin. By MARY HICKSON. With a Preface by J. A. FROUDE, M.A. 2 vols. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

THE above work, consisting of two octavo volumes, exhibits proof of the patient industry of the authoress. It opens with a Preface of eight pages by Mr. Froude, followed by an Introduction of some 160 pages from the authoress ; while the rest of the work is composed of original extracts accompanied by her annotations. Some two hundred depositions bearing on the rising in 1641 form the staple of the work. Many of the depositions, as attested by their marks, are those of ignorant people ; and therefore their value depends on the honest explanation of their contents to the signatories, not to speak at all of their own credibility. And even when they were made by respectable persons—as, for example, by Edward Saltinghall, Gent.—the depositions are not reliable ; and Miss Hickson had to admit that only *a fifth of it may be reliable*. Besides this, many or most of the depositions are on hearsay evidence, and are evidently absurd, as that of Ellen Matchell, who stated that Manus O'Cahan begged for his breakfast the heads of all the Protestants killed ; and the deposition of Robert Maxwell, rector, whose superstitious allusion to cock-crowing and barking of dogs and preternatural sights, not to speak of the ghost stories of others, excites only pity. Moreover, the depositions are contradictory to Miss Hickson and to each other. In p. 51 (vol. i.) she states that the priests endeavoured to persuade the people “that Charles and his Roman Catholic Queen were the best friends of Ireland ;” yet at p. 25 she represents the priests as hatching a plot to do away with the King. So too Alice Champion stated on oath (p. 169) that the rebels said they did nothing but by orders from the King ; but in the next sentence she represents them as saying that “they would give a sum of money that they had the head of King Charles.” So too Miss Hickson represents the Jesuits as having prepared the rebellion for fourteen years previously, yet the sworn depositions represent the Irish as rising to avenge the wrongs of King Charles and in obedience to his commission ; such, for instance, are the depositions of Jasper Horsey (vol. ii. p. 136) and of Charles Jewell, Gent. (p. 74). And Miss Hickson herself admits (p. 74) that “there was more than one of those mysterious real or forged commissions from the King in circulation in 1641.” If, then, the Irish, in obedience to their legitimate monarch, took up arms to right crying grievances, is it not cruel to trace all the excesses to Jesuistical plotting, and unfair in Mr. Froude to parallel the rising in infamy with the

Sicilian Vespers? While we admit and deplore the excesses committed, we agree with the learned Protestant historian Leland (vol. iii. p. 127) that in their distraction every tale of horror was listened to and every suggestion of phrenzy believed by the Protestants.

Having said this much as to the depositions, a few words now as to their treatment by Miss Hickson. Mr. Froude says that "her work cannot be regarded as a mere counter-statement of opinion against the popular Irish theory;" secondly, that she explains "better than any previous writer the causes which drove them into fury;" thirdly, he pronounces her qualified for her task, "because she has no English prejudices." 1. Firstly, then, her work appears to be a counter-statement, as it particularly refers to the learned works of Messrs. Gilbert, Prendergast, Curry, the Rev. Father Murphy, and of the Most Rev. Dr. Moran; and we would recommend their works as correctives of her one-sided and unfaithful picture. She dwells with vulgar emphasis on a statement differing from her own. For instance, speaking of the relative advantages, accruing to the clansmen, of the old and new system, in the few first pages she half a score of times, and three times in a single page, harps on the view put forward by O'Curry on the "humble clansmen" by italicizing them.

2. Mr. Froude is not correct in stating that Miss Hickson explains better than others the causes of the rebellion. She says, in p. 121, vol. i., that "the two great causes were the ambition and greed of the rival churches." Now, it is foul calumny so to characterize an effort to mitigate the severity of the penal laws. Not to mention but one of the "Graces," for which the Irish offered £120,000, the 7th "Grace" ran thus: "No extraordinary warrants of assistance touching clandestine marriages, christening, and burials, or any other contumacies against the jurisdiction of the established church to be issued by the Lord Deputy or any other governor. Nor are the clergy of the established church to keep private prisons for such delinquencies, but they are to be committed according to the ordinary course of law by the King's officers to the common gaol, and all unlawful exactions of the said clergy to cease."

3. Miss Hickson goes out of her way and loses her footing in a desire to decry the Catholic priest and religion, so that she is not free from prejudice, as Mr. Froude would have us believe. At p. 9 of her Introduction, she, in contradiction to a statement by O'Curry, that the humblest clansmen were cared for under the old system, says "it was the paradise of the chief and priest, who had a share in all the good things going." It was not so: the clan system was a plague and cross to the priest and religion. Her statement is gratuitously and offensively false. At p. 11 she states "that Cromwell and his officers protected the native Irish who were disposed to live in peace and good-will with their Protestant neighbours." I suppose she would explain this as her hero Cromwell did the meaning of toleration in religion—that it did not mean toleration of the Mass, &c. In the year 1613, Sir Charles Cornwallis, who was sent to Ireland to inquire into Irish grievances, after saying that great oppressions were

offered to the people by the soldiery, added: "Those Irish are a scurvy people and scurvily governed." This would refer to the tameness of the people in submitting to the tyranny of the English or Irish government; but Miss Hickson's comment on the judgment of Sir Charles is: "A country governed by ecclesiastical politicians can never be otherwise judged" (p. 35, note). At p. 89, in order to prove that the Catholic Church was supreme in 1628, she quotes Sir John Bingley's statement, among other precious morsels, that "the Catholic Irish have their altars adorned with images and other foolations [sic], popish trash, as fully as in Rome, and more, practise Judaism; for every Easter day, in the morning before sunrise, they eat a lamb." This is bad enough, but the commentary of Miss Hickson is worse: "It is likely that some such superstitious practice did prevail at this time, for till lately," &c. It reminds one of the calumny and ignorance of the pagans towards the early Christians as regards the eating of a child. So, too, at p. 101, speaking of the "Graces," she says: "With the usual impatient turbulence of Roman politicians under the control of fanatical priests, they pressed their demands," &c. In one of the depositions (cix.) a parson Goldsmith is represented as urged by his brother, a priest in Antwerp, to go to him with his family and leave Ireland. The letter of invitation was brought by a Jesuit, Father Malone. He had not time to deliver it personally, but requested Father Barrett to do so. On this, parson Goldsmith grounds his evidence that the "Arch-Jesuit," Father Malone, was aware of the contemplated rising of the Irish. But what is worse is that, in acknowledging that Goldsmith subsequently owed his life to the interference of Father Malone, she adds, not words of praise, but that "the Nuncio wrote bitter complaints of Malone, and that the General and Provincial Malone were in full accord on their old scheme for securing the Catholic succession on the English throne, even at the cost of an interregnum of republicanism under Cromwell. The Nuncio had the same object at heart, but he was a silly and vainglorious bungler, and the Order despised while it envied him." What wild and unfair writing! Again (p. 244, vol. ii.), the depositions state "that divers poor English were preserved by Joseph Everard and Redmund English, two Franciscan friars." In a note to this, Miss Hickson says that the only authority for this was the *Carte* manuscripts, thus raising a doubt as to the services of the friars, though she makes many statements on the authority of the said manuscripts, without speaking at all of the depositions on which all her charges against the Catholics are founded. So again, at p. 57, vol. i., Miss Hickson, speaking of priests, says: "Those whom at all times the Irish people are in their blindness proud to call their natural leaders in their struggles," &c. Mr. Froude asks us to believe that she "has no English prejudices:" she has worse—anti-Catholic ones.

A word on her views of race and religion, and we are done. At p. 165 she says that "Ireland is as British in blood as Great Britain" (we doubt it, though doubtless a part may be Cromwellian), and that, "if Ireland were Protestant, all strife would cease between

England and Ireland, as religion is the real cause of strife." The statement is questionable, and traceable to one of those prejudices attributed by the authoress to the English people and English government.

To sum up: the book under review, while it evinces much patient industry on the part of Miss Hickson, exhibits her, also, as deficient in historical breadth as she is strong in narrow prejudice.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

1. *Young and Fair: a Tale for Juveniles.* By VOSSIAN. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1884.
2. *Father Placid; or, the Custodian of the Blessed Sacrament.* By LAETITIA OLIVER. London: R. Washbourne. 1884.
3. *Rose Fortesque; or, the Devout Client of Our Lady of Dolors.* By LAETITIA OLIVER. London: R. Washbourne. 1884.
4. *The Village Lily: a Tale of First Communion.* Translated from the French. London: R. Washbourne. 1883.
5. *Maud Hamilton; or, Self-will and its Consequences.* By MARY AGATHA PENNELL. London: Thos. Richardson & Son.

THE "Young and Fair" heroine tells the beginning of her autobiography with great promise; which, however, fades among too rapid events and too numerous characters. The first chapter shows a rare gift of quick observation. What could be better than the child's idea during a long journey from Edinburgh to London that the train that stopped so often must be taking her up and down? Or the little school-girl's anxiety not to be forgotten, but to get up for midnight Mass, when all the things were twice the usual size, so that she knocked against them before she thought they were near—"but this passed away when I was thoroughly awake"? Very amusing too is the glimpse of the old French doctor, Monsieur Chlore, who spends evenings at her grandmother's château in the holidays and is gravely inquisitive about the convent school, and the rules, and the best girls who were children of Mary—

He immediately wanted to know what a best girl was; he had never heard of such a thing. Were not all girls best? I explained that those who were most exact at keeping the rules, who were most pious and charitable, were the best.

"What is being charitable?" asked the old doctor, pretending dense ignorance.

"Why those that are kindest," I said; but he couldn't understand; he was convinced that all young ladies were kindest.

"Well," I said, trying to explain, "suppose that we divided a number of apples and the best one was left—"

"The best one couldn't be left," said the doctor, with much gravity; "it could only be the worst." . . .

I told him that our nuns were not called abbesses, only the superior was so called. He affected profound astonishment, and got from me all their

various grades and titles. At length he said, rising to go: "Well, give my respects to the lady abbess, and the lady cook, and the lady porter, and say that I think their system excellent." I cried out that the cook and doorkeeper were lay-sisters. But he said his poor old head wouldn't hold any more information for one night, and he would try and fathom it all another time.

This must be a sketch from life; but unfortunately Doctor Chlore vanishes, and names march past with no characters to support them. With a very few characters and a regard for probabilities, and narrower limits of time, Vossian ought to produce amusing stories for the young. With so much observation, it is to be regretted when we find eccentricities, such as a girl's study of "the quadration of the circle," "a church crypt of Corinthian architecture," and "a Parthian shaft" that "left yet some balm in Gilead"! With careful self-criticism, and with the changes we have hinted, Vossian's minute observation ought to give us, at another time, a better if a less ambitious story.

The writer of "Father Placid" appears to have forgotten that it would require a new miracle to keep the Blessed Sacrament in an underground hiding-place for centuries—that at the moment when bread, if it were there, would suffer change, the presence of Christ would cease in the Host. But for this fact of the Eucharistic doctrine, the story before us would be in the main idea beautifully conceived. It is written in an earnest spirit of devotion to the English martyrs, and that is a great recommendation; and it boasts a well-described haunted chamber and a ghost, which are magical attractions for young readers.

"Rose Fortesque," by the same author, is intended as an example of devotion to Our Lady of Dolours. We wish it had ended more happily. A great critic and well-known editor of our day has a theory worth thinking over—that, in such a world as ours, a true story is the only one that has an excuse for leaving its reader at a sad ending.

Such a story, true if sad, is "The Village Lily." Truth is always a merit; it changes airy nothings into the reality of life, and children enjoy best the tale that is warranted true. We can only wish that the French writer had hinted that a vow of consecration in religious life made on a first Communion Day is very rare, and is one of the many things that are not to be done "without leave," which in this case means, under ordinary circumstances, not done at all.

"Maud Hamilton; or, Self-will and its Consequences," will be read with avidity by those small folks who do not like the conventional good child best; and such is the perversity of human nature, that we are afraid small folks, and big folks too, are beginning to object to that unnaturally faultless child of fiction as an impostor not belonging to our world. "Maud Hamilton" will pass muster among the many stories that are given as rewards to school-children.

Lost, and other Tales for Children. Adapted from the French. By the Author of "Tyburn." London: Burns & Oates.

Told in the Gloaming; or, Our Novena and How We Made It. By JOSEPHINE HANNAN. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.

Adventures at Sea. New Edition. London: Burns & Oates.

THE little book called "Lost," of the *Granville Popular Library*, contains short stories for children, bright and brisk, and pleasantly printed—a contribution to the simply amusing literature which Catholic children greatly need.

"Told in the Gloaming" is the title of stories supposed to be told on nine evenings of a children's Novena for the Immaculate Conception. There is no lack of tale-books of the religious class; their writers would do well to observe closely from life, and to increase their power of entertaining and amusing.

The new edition of "Adventures at Sea" ought to be welcome to boys; its tales of peril and adventure have the advantage of being true, and are given almost in the words of the original narrators.

For Better, Not for Worse. By Rev. LANGTON GEORGE VERE.
London: R. Washbourne.

OUR notice of this romantic story comes rather late, but we hope not too late to bespeak a kindly reception for it with some who have to supply good light reading in parochial libraries, and the like. Father Vere's story has a complex and well-managed plot which sustains interest to the end; there is only one villain in it, but that is a woman wicked enough to supply any number of good people with occupation; so that it is only when one gets to the end that one can breathe freely, and recognize that "all has been 'for better, not for worse.'" Yet there is no love-making, and even there is no marriage in it—except, indeed, in a way which does not move us, some of the supernumeraries get quietly wedded at the back of the stage. The moral is sufficiently told by the story itself, but the author adds a short postscript to say that his object was to illustrate the truth that all things come round to him that will but wait and pray. We should anticipate that by this time "For Better, Not for Worse," is already a favourite book, and in great demand with young readers.

Lady Glastonbury's Boudoir; or, the History of Two Weeks. By the Author of "The New Utopia." London: Burns & Oates. 1883.

Uriel; or, the Chapel of the Angels. By the Author of "Lady Glastonbury's Boudoir," &c. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.

THE identity of the author of "Lady Glastonbury's Boudoir" is a half-open secret; we can say at least that these two stories are the lighter work of a hand whose more weighty work has taken a permanent place in Catholic literature. "Lady Glastonbury's

"Boudoir" is full of surprises; but "Uriel," which the *Irish Monthly* had the honour of first producing, is somehow more captivating. In this fiction there is something far better than the upper surface of a fleeting tale; there is a strong sense of the real worth of things underlying all; and though there is too much tact to make any parade of teaching or edifying in stories that are meant to amuse, one gets glimpses of higher standards than the world uses, and one is lured to admire the bravery of simplicity and reality.

Geoffrey stopped short on the gravel walk along which they were making their way towards the house.

"It's the place," he said; "it suffocates one with its plate-glass and its Dresden china."

"Do you object to old china?" inquired Paxton.

"By no means," replied Geoffrey. "What I mean is, that in a place like this, whatever you look at, if it is but a soap-dish, sets you thinking what it must have cost. That is one thing. Then you see, I don't mean to excuse Julian for trying to look like an ass when he isn't one; but when people are shoving at him to show off as—as—a peacock, so to speak—"

"I see," interrupted Paxton. "But what is the connection with the Dresden soap-dish?"

"It's all of a piece," said Geoffrey, floundering among the *débris* of his own ideas. "Just what Julian don't fit into—expensiveness, show-off, and talk about great people and geniuses."

"Well, Mr. Houghton," replied his companion, "I think I catch your view of the subject. They are only different aspects of one and the same thing—what we call *the world*. Expensiveness means the pride of money by displaying one's money's worth; that is the vulgarlest form of worldliness. Then the running after great people and geniuses, and the trying to make everybody stand in an attitude and assume a character—well, all that is worldly too, and quite as unreal, though perhaps it can put on a better show. But you are right in your principle, which, I take it, is this, that *all worldliness is vulgar*."

Geoffrey, who, in his blundering way, "doing his best" as usual, has made this grand discovery unawares, is but one of two heroes; but he has the advantage over many heroes of fiction in being a man—which pen-sketched characters often are not—and very often for the reader, as for Geoffrey's sister, the light of his inward soul streams through the chinks of its roughly-moulded mortal dwelling-place. There is a description of a chapel of the angels, which ought to suggest a real chapel of the angels somewhere. In the story it belongs to "the golden-haired Pendragons" of a Cornish castle, who, having kept the ancient faith through all losses of fortune, are found at the beginning of the tale still loyal in days of misfortune, with no possessions left but the time-worn keep and the household shrine, where family tradition tells them the lamp of the sanctuary was never extinguished. An old prophecy says that their fortunes should be restored when the heir is peasant-born with angel name and angel face; and, as the family has preserved its traditional devotion to the holy angels, the restoration of their chapel becomes the occasion of the fulfilment of the prophecy and the restoration of

their happiness. The design is highly original, and all that relates to the Seven Spirits throws a charming light about the story.

Pierre Olivaint. From the French of PAUL FÉVAL. London : Burns & Oates. 1883.

THESE few leaves are a novelist's opinion of a modern martyr. Paul Féval, in reviewing Père Clair's biography of Père Olivaint, tells us his own recollections of the Jesuit priest, "the Apostle of Martyrs," as he was called by the physician of the Mazas. Paul Féval saw Père Olivaint for the first time when he went to Vaugirard to place his son there at the suggestion of a friend, in the days before the novelist's conversion.

I was at last ushered into a parlour hung with engravings in which Chinese and Tartars were seen at war, and where stood a priest in conversation with a lady in deep mourning. The impression made on my mind by the Rector in this interval of waiting was that he was the thinnest man I had ever seen. His face was very pale, and there was a want of symmetry in his features which annoyed me, and his expression, at one and the same time humble and penetrating, set me thinking. I gained my living by studying men in order to make them figure in my books, and I occupied myself with studying this priest according to the rules of my profession of word-painter. I found, however, that none of my rules helped me to account for the contradictory symptoms I noted. The character stamped on his countenance, so noble and yet so gentle, so commanding and yet so self-contained, was an unknown tongue to me. To my mind, the unutterable daring of his glance gave the lie to the tender and timid humility which also entered into its composition. I could not reconcile so much majesty with so much simplicity.

When the "lady in deep mourning" was gone, the Père Olivaint approached and asked his business. "He smiled, and his smile gave a charming light to his countenance." However, the novelist left the college that day, resolving that no son of his should ever enter at Vaugirard—a resolution for which he accounts by saying that, if every man has a share of the peacock in him, an author's share is double, and the Rector had not flattered him by any surprise at his coming. Nevertheless, he writes :—

A month later, however, I was driving along that same road once more to visit my boy, who had "entered Vaugirard" in spite of all, and who passed there all the happy years of youth. But it did not take all those years to open my eyes. It was as early as the occasion of my second interview that I gained a revelation of the elevation and sweetness of mind of Père Olivaint. True, I did not so soon learn to know him fully, for it needed nothing less than his death to unveil the mystery of charity which made up his life; but even at that early stage I learned to bow with the respectful interest of an amateur before his rare character, in composing which grace had selected and put together in perfect harmony all the choicest gifts known to the soul of man.

1. *Missale Romanum*. Editio typica.
2. *Rituale Romanum*. Editio typica.
3. *Missale Defunctorum*. Editio typica.
4. *Horae Diurnae*. Editio typica.
5. *Benedictionale Romanum*. Editio tertia.
6. *Missale pro Caecutientibus*.
7. *Missale Romanum*. 4to.
8. *Epistole et Evangelia totius anni*. Ratisbon: Pustet. 1884.

PUSTET'S Missal in folio (27 by 25 centimètres) is not simply a new edition, but the attention of the clergy is called to it, as being the "editio typica," since the Congregation of the Rites has declared this edition to be the standard of future Latin Missals. The publisher therefore, and rightly, marks these editions, not by numbers, but by the distinction of "typica" given by authority to his recent liturgical publications. The new Missal is to be considered "typical" principally as regards the plain chant, as here corrected by the Congregation of Rites. The old Missals, indeed, were not abrogated by the recent step of the Roman authorities; but, on the other hand, it is obvious that the new typical Missal is designed to be a vigorous means towards establishing the long-sighed-after unity in holy rites, and, above all, in plain chant. I scarcely need observe that Pustet's Missal exactly presents in the respective places the changes made by Leo XIII. through his recent decree about the simple commemoration of feasts inferior to double minors, and votive offices. What, however, is really noteworthy and important is that each proof-sheet of the "typical" Missal has been submitted to, examined, and approved of by the Congregation of Rites. Leo XIII., by his decree regarding the Missal, has so highly deserved of Church liturgy that he ranks with Pius V., Clement VIII., and Urban VIII., and therefore Pustet's Missal bears the new title: "Missale Romanum Clementis VIII, Urbani VIII et Leonis XIII auctoritate recognitum."

The "typical" Missal is followed by the "typical Ritual." There is no doubt but that this fine new edition of the "Rituale Romanum" will ere long supersede former editions of this to the clergy indispensably necessary book. In the first place, it enjoys the same prerogative as the typical Missal, each proof-sheet having been carefully revised and approved by the Congregation. Besides this, it not only contains the text of the ritual, now for the first time divided into "titles," but also a large quantity of benedictions, the "Collectio benedictionum et instructionum" occupying not less than 245 out of a total of 645 pages. Missionary priests more particularly will scarcely be able to do without this book. A sequel to the "typical" edition of the Roman Ritual is the "Benedictionale Romanum," a volume of 369 pages, giving all the benedictions approved by the Congregation of Rites. We likewise recommend the "typical" "Missale pro Defunctis" and the "Missale ad usum sacerdotum caecutientium." This latter Missal appears for the first time, and by its merits no

doubt will be welcomed by priests suffering from their eyes. Besides the mass of the Blessed Virgin, it contains the mass for the dead, and the type is thirteen millimètres in size. The folio editions of the "Epistolae et Evangelia totius anni," contain text and plain chant as approved by the Congregation of Rites. The books are of a high standard too as regards excellence of paper, print, &c. In noticing also Pustet's new Missal in quarto (32 by 29 centimètres), I may be allowed to point out that the "English Proprium" to the Missal, edited by the Catholic hierarchy, and after careful revision approved of by the Congregation of Rites, is now ready, and may be had through any bookseller, whilst those to Breviary and Diurnal are being printed. Last, but not least, may be mentioned the "typical" edition of the "Diurnal" in 32mo, for which a Proprium is also at press. It is only some months ago that Mr. Pustet brought out a new, correct, and complete edition of Gavantus' Octavarium enriched by those lections required by the ritual decrees of Leo XIII.

BELLESHEIM.

Short Easy Mass for Small Choirs. By ALPHONSE CARY. For unison, or two, three, or four voices.

Six Easy Litany Tunes. Same Composer. Newbury: Alphonse Cary. 1884.

WE can speak very highly of the little Mass named above. The music is thoroughly good, and free from the weaknesses that too often characterize the "easy" Mass. At the same time no choir need be afraid of the task of attempting Mr. Cary's mass. We are glad to see the author introduce a little simple chant into the *Credo*. The advantages of this treatment are many and obvious. The Litany chants are of the ordinary type; but they are very tuneful, and ought to be acceptable to choirs on the look-out for a change. We feel sure that Mr. Cary's music only requires to be known to make its way amongst us. His enterprise in publishing so cheaply deserves to be noted.

Die Quellen des Dekameron. Von MARCUS LANDAU. Zweite, sehr vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Stuttgart. 1884.

DR. LANDAU has, perhaps, done wisely in attaching to the celebrated name of Boccaccio the vast amount of information which he has collected and compressed relative to the sources of mediæval fiction, and especially the Italian tales. He has brought together stories of which the fundamental idea is identical, from the most diverse and widely separated sources, but, though the book extends to 340 pages, the condensation practised is such as to render it rather a manual of reference for the student who is inquiring into the development of popular fiction than a readable volume upon the subject. The want of an index is on this very account only the more regrettable. Doubtless the immense number of names occurring in the text would

necessitate an index of portentous extent compared with the size of the book ; nevertheless it would double its usefulness. The want, too, of clear divisions in the work, and the difficulty, perhaps, of making them, is another reason in favour of an index. Indeed, as there is in many instances scarcely the briefest abstract of the stories and their numberless variants, there should be some means of finding at once any particular legend. The only aid of this kind is at present, however, the list of the Decameron stories prefixed to the work, and, even if these are all remembered, they will not always enable one to find much that is contained in the book.

Even a cursory examination of the work before us shows that modern criticism and research into the descent of fiction has penetrated far deeper than even Huet, the learned Bishop of Avranches, when he dedicated his erudite work on the origin of romances to M. Ségrais, could have divined.

The same spirit of investigation which has in quite recent years corroborated St. John Damascene's assertion that he had received his Tale of Barlaam and Josaphat from Eastern Sages, and refuted the opinion that he had, following a not uncommon fashion in literature, intended to pass off an original work under the guise of a translation, has also thrown a vast deal of light upon the short tales so popular in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We find in Boccaccio and most of the other novelists who succeeded him a large proportion of stories marked by the levity and immorality ascribed to religious or clerics, which would have been looked on a few generations ago, if not as actual records of particular occurrences, at least as indictments fully warranted by the general contemporary state of religion. Nor is this view, unhappily, wholly without foundation. It must be remembered that the seat of the Church's authority had been transferred from Italy to Avignon about half a century before the Decameron was composed: and, as is notorious, Italy, but especially Rome, in the absence of the Sovereign Pontiffs, lapsed into the utmost disorder, and was even excommunicated in 1327. Petrarch calls it—

Gia Roma, or Babilonia falsa e ria.

The plague, too, seems to have had the effect of relaxing the moral rein to a fearful extent.

Boccaccio's satire, however, is not directed against the Church. Faith was then too universal for that to be possible. It is rather the religious orders, especially the mendicant friars, upon whom he, with Chaucer and Piers Plowman, throws mud.

Boccaccio, too, it must not be forgotten, in later years expressed his sorrow for the scandal he had given by these compositions. With every allowance for the coarseness of the age and the prevalent practice of calling a spade a spade, a large proportion of the tales are of directly immoral tendency. It is therefore not a thankless task to point out, as is done in such a work as Landau's, that they are, however in favour with the society of the age in which they were written, not its direct outcome or portrait, but merely themes handed down from

remoter times and invested with contemporary surroundings, just as the painter of the same epoch depicted the personages of the Bible in the costume of the knights or burghers with whom he was in daily contact. In such adaptation to season and circumstance Boccaccio stands a supreme figure in Italian literature. The traditions that still lived in the mouths of the people or were preserved in antiquated repertories, or in the fabliaux of France, his master pen could invest with grace and sparkle, and endow with lasting popularity. The more the pity that he should have so often chosen husks before pearls, and that the same hand which has given us *Patient Grissel* should have gilt so much that is unworthy.

We are not afraid in this place of being mistaken as apologists for the alas! too extensive bad side of Boccaccio. Nothing, of course, is farther from our thoughts than either to extenuate his immorality, or underrate the mischievous tendency of too many of his tales, for these are considerations of practical importance sufficient to exclude the *Decameron* unexpurgated from the domestic bookshelf. But we must give even the Devil his due; and to do this it is necessary to realize as far as possible the vast difference in manners between one age and another. The grossness of the middle ages would be utterly intolerable to us at the present day, just as much as the ornate and studied impudicity of the Roman decadence; perhaps more so. Yet the latter is hopelessly vicious and corrupt, pregnant with the very seed of dissolution and decay, while the bald and blunt straightforwardness of the middle ages is merely the honest fault of a rough time. On any other supposition, indeed, it seems utterly impossible to conceive that such a collection of tales as the *Heptameron* of Margaret of Navarre, which surpasses Boccaccio's novels in grossness, could be openly recited by the queen of a Christian Court. The renaissance is of course responsible to a large extent for the fashionable laxity of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it will scarcely suffice to explain such phases of social *mores* as the instance just cited. Indeed, the recreation books of the earlier middle age before the pagan revival had set in, are sufficient evidence of a frankness of expression in conversation, and in what light literature then existed, although not in pictorial art, that would astonish us at the present day.

These considerations, we think, are not out of place in reference to Boccaccio's work. The *Decameron* has become one of the Italian classics, and it will therefore not be practicable to withhold it altogether from the cultured public. The Church herself, the patron and preserver even of pagan literature during the stormy times of the later Roman Empire, has tolerated many of the Greek and Roman classics from the same regard even for secular culture which led her to sanction the preservation of the nameless abominations of late Roman sculpture preserved in the closed rooms of the Vatican galleries, and deterred the Council of Trent from placing Petronius *Arbiter's "Cena Trimalchionis"* on the Index, "latinitatis causa."

These more general remarks have scarcely left us space to point out above one or two of the numerous instances where Dr. Landau

clearly shows the Decameron stories to be derived from a number of very various sources, despite their contemporary garb.

Many of the legends adapted by Boccaccio, far from being made worse in his hands, have been refined and corrected. Thus, for instance, the fourth tale of the first day, taken apparently from a much earlier poem by one of those very "loose fish," the trouvères, is far less offensive and blasphemous than the source from which the Italians seem to have derived the tale.

The same may be said of the paramour in the barrel, almost certainly derived from the fabliau of the *cuvier*, which is essentially the same as a tale in one of the ancient Sanskrit repertoires.

Many of the stories which seem to contain a sneer against the Christian religion came, as Dunlop remarks, from the Jews and Arabians who had settled in Spain.

In the tenth story of the sixth day of the Decameron, Frate Cipolla finds, to his dismay, on opening a reliquary to expose a feather from the Angel Gabriel's wing to the devotion of the faithful, that a wag had played him a trick by abstracting the relic and substituting a cinder. This is, through whatever channel it may have reached Boccaccio, no other than the Sanskrit story of the envoy sent to present a casket of costly gems to a king, and who, when the casket was opened and disclosed to the view of the indignant prince only mould or ashes (with which its original contents had been replaced by robbers), had the readiness to say, in almost the same words as Frate Cipolla, that they were holy sin-purging ashes of great efficacy.

Again, the story of the Abbess (IX. 2) is merely an adaptation of the story about St. Jerome in the " *Legenda Aurea*," cap. 141.

And so on with nearly all Boccaccio's stories. Dr. Landau's researches show very clearly that few, if any, were the author's own inventions, and almost equally few had any serious historical foundation. Most were stories that the trouvères or troubadours had versified long before, or were traditions floating about in the mouths of the people, many clearly traceable to remote Aryan sources. Boccaccio, with supreme skill, invested them with those contemporary accessories which always render fiction more popular with the majority of people, probably because they can realize with least effort characters and situations which are depicted as resembling those with which they are every day in contact.

Military Italy. By CHARLES MARTEL. London: Macmillan & Co.
1884.

THIS volume is of considerable value to the student of the modern military system of Europe, and is calculated to give the British public some idea of the inner workings of the stupendous machinery of a Continental army. The incessant round of drills, marches, manœuvres, and military exercises by which the raw conscripts are year after year ground into soldiers imposes on the officers in time of

peace duties so severe that those of actual war seem light by comparison, and make a soldier's life at all times an arduous one.

In the Italian army the most characteristic corps is that of the Bersaglieri, whose sombre battalions dash by like a tempest, their plumes waving in the breeze. Specially chosen for vigorous health and ample chest-measurement, their powers of marching are almost incredible, and the present author narrates an instance of their endurance which General della Marmora loved to recount:—

On one occasion, this General, the father of the Bersaglieri, mounted on a celebrated Arab charger, drew up a battalion to salute the late king, Victor Emanuel, on his leaving Genoa. The king travelled forty miles with English post-horses, changing horses four times. At the end of his journey what was his surprise to find an almost unrecognizable battalion of travel-stained Bersaglieri, with General della Marmora on the same favourite white Arab at their head. They were the same troops who had travelled at great speed over hills and valleys, fording rivers and streams, and taking a direct line to the town the king was making for by the high road.

One of the principal difficulties that Italian military organization has to contend with is the absence of a sufficient supply of horses in the country, and the writer, laying it down as an axiom that "victory in modern warfare is the product of weight multiplied by velocity," dwells earnestly on the danger to the country from this deficiency, and the necessity for more energetic measures to remedy it.

A Sketch of the Modern Languages of Africa, accompanied by a Language-Map. By ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST. 2 vols. (Trübner's Oriental Series.) London: Trübner & Co.

MR. CUST, whose book on the Modern Languages of the East Indies, published some years ago by Messrs. Trübner, has been so favourably received by savants, here essays a similar work on behalf of Africa. "Vous avez donc changé votre Continent," a French scholar laughingly observed to him. Our author replied, "Yes: that is true." And if one asks, he tells us, the reason for this intellectual migration, it was this: that there was a work in respect of the modern African languages to be done which somebody ought to do who had money, leisure, industry, and diligence, and that he appeared to be that somebody. An old and approved servant of the Crown in India, Mr. Cust possesses just the qualifications needed for the very difficult task to which he has set himself in these volumes; and his official training in order and method, his strong will and love for steady work, have been of the greatest service to him in executing it. One foot he has firmly planted, as he says, upon geographical facts; the other upon such a statement of linguistic facts as seemed to his judgment sufficient. And the great merit of his work is that he has refused to

go a hair's breadth beyond the facts, in the appreciation of which his power of weighing evidence, derived from many years largely spent in magisterial duties, has been of the greatest help to him. Not the least of his difficulties is that which has arisen from the conflicting opinions of doubtful authorities. And when such conflict has been hopelessly irreconcilable, his rule has been "to omit a doubtful language, as the cartographers, at the beginning of this century, cleared the maps of doubtful entries." "It is far better," as he justly remarks, "to omit a score of shadowy languages, and allow them to be re-entered when a clearer light has fallen upon them, than to go on in the old misty way, of entering *unplaced* languages; for it is obvious that, if a language is *unplaced*, it is deficient in the first element of a genuine existence, as the vocabulary may be a forgery, or an *Argot*, or it may be extinct; in fact, it has no 'locus standi.'"¹ Mr. Cust's work is eminently one of pioneering; and, notwithstanding all his care and labour, much of it cannot pretend to be more than approximately correct. But this does not diminish the debt under which, in executing it, he has laid all who are interested in his extremely important and interesting subject.

The Saddharma-Pundarika; or, Lotus of the True Law. Translated by H. KERN. (Being Volume XXI. of "The Sacred Books of the East.") Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

THIS volume is an important contribution to our knowledge of Nepalese Buddhism. It is one of the nine *Dharmas* to which worship is offered, and affords striking illustration of many points of the ordinary doctrine and discipline of the Northern Church, conveyed by way of "example and anecdote, interspersed with occasional examples of dogmatic instruction." It differs from the *Lalita-Vistara*, another of these sacred *Dharmas*, and the best known of them, in this particular, that while that composition has the character of a real epic, this has not. It bears rather "the character of a dramatic performance, an unfinished mystery play, in which the chief interlocutor, not the only one, is Sakya-Muni, the Lord." M. Kern's reputation as an Orientalist is a sufficient guarantee for the manner in which his translation is executed, while the value of his very learned Introduction of thirty-nine pages will be evident to every competent student.

Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation. By ROBERT CHAMBERS, LL.D. Twelfth Edition. With an Introduction by A. IRELAND. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers. 1884.

QUITE the greatest literary surprise of the day is the announcement of the authorship of the "Vestiges of Creation." Never was literary secret better kept or more eagerly searched for, and Mr.

Ireland, in his Introduction, gives us an interesting account of the whole affair. It would seem that Robert Chambers quailed before the *odium theologicum*, that his work aroused, and our countrymen north of the Tweed are apt to "nurse their wrath to keep it warm" when once theological rancour is aroused. But it is a happy thing that these conditions of society are in our days considerably modified, and the latest readers of the work will be puzzled to discover what it was that brought down the arm of Professor Sedgwick so heavily upon it.

We are glad that a new interest has been lent to the work, and brought it under the notice of a younger generation. Some of the details may be a little antiquated, and even incorrect; some of the examples a little worn; still there is no work like the "*Vestiges*" for giving a clear, bold, and fascinating grasp of the great facts of natural history. It is a brave and earnest attempt to bring the whole series of geological and biological truths within the grasp of one grand law. Throughout we are charmed with the reverent and religious feeling that animates almost every page, and these qualities are unfortunately too rare in the scientific works of our own day. R. Chambers's object is to draw attention to the indications of progressive development that is written in the geologic record. He does not attempt to show the manner in which this has been accomplished; that has been left to Darwin and Spencer to put forward. He takes up the humbler and more scientific position of drawing up the facts as they stand. He points out that a development *has* taken place, but declines to consider the manner *how*. And it may be safely asserted that few who take up the book will find it dull reading; they will, in spite of themselves, be carried on by the interest and charm of the work until they have read it through. There are those who desire to learn the grounds and facts on which the new doctrines of evolution are based, but have no leisure or aptitude to study them in the works of the latest exponents of the theory. To such we can safely recommend no simpler, no better, introduction than the delightful "*Vestiges of Creation*."

The Old Religion; or, How shall we find Primitive Christianity?
Edited by WILLIAM LOCKHART, B.A. Oxon. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society.

WHEN the chapters of this volume first appeared in *Catholic Opinion*, the late Rt. Rev. Dr. Brown, Bishop of Newport and Menevia, wrote to its author that it was a work "entertaining, convincing, adapted to our actual times, and altogether the most valuable work of dogmatic instruction for general readers which has issued from the press for many years." It speaks greatly for the value of the book that it now appears in a new edition. Linked together by a narrative, the conversations range over subjects with which Catholics ought to be familiar if they have much intercourse with Protestants.

The pages explaining the Catholic devotion to the saints are an

instance of the happy treatment of ordinary topics of discussion. The style of the conversations is everywhere bright, even in the deeper treatment of historical questions. Among the best passages are those identifying the worship and devotions of the Church at the present time with those of the Irish Church in the first centuries:—

There still exists an Irish Missal of the sixth century—for this is the antiquity attributed to the manuscript by Dr. Todd (the late Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and recent biographer of S. Patrick) in a paper on the subject read by him before the Royal Irish Academy in 1856. There is no essential difference between the Mass as there given and that which is now said in our churches: the Canon, as far as the Memento, is literally the same as the Canon of the Roman Missal. . . . Water was mixed with wine in the Chalice, and Communion under one kind was unknown. . . . Vestments of a special kind and of various colours were used at Mass; the priests wore the vestments (according to the words of an ancient treatise cited by the late Professor O'Curry) "when he went to offer the Body of Christ and His Blood on the holy altar."

A Marian Litany of the eighth century is also quoted, in which many of the Loreto titles occurred, and others as familiar to us. It carries back to that remote time the use of the words, Queen of Angels—Gate of Heaven—Comfort of the Afflicted—Star of the Sea, and many others suggested by the warm and poetical Celtic mind.

Conrad Vallenrod: an Historical Poem. By ADAM MITSKIÉVITCH. Translated from the Polish by MICHAEL H. DZIEWICKI. London: Thos. Richardson & Son. 1883.

“CONRAD VALLENROD” is one of the most famous poems in the Polish language. Its author, Mitskiévitch, ranks as first poet not only of Poland, but of all Slavonian countries. For his association with a society which was patriotic, but not advocating treachery, like many others at the time, he was exiled to St. Petersburg, and seems to have enjoyed a free and peaceful sojourn there for five years, from 1824 to 1829. There, to prove to Poland that he was not forgetful of her wrongs while his lot was cast happily among her oppressors, he wrote the poem of “Conrad Vallenrod.” It was spread in his native country by every means; it was even given away in the streets of Warsaw. Its political allusions, and its praise of sacrifice and love of country, had an inner meaning that was well understood, and Mitskiévitch earned the name of the Minstrel of the Revolution. This poem and his Ode to the Youth of Poland are said to have fired the outbreak of 1830. His rank as a poet, and this historical fact, give to it a peculiar interest. The translator has given Polish names in approximate English spelling with the national form in foot-notes. He recognizes the difficulty of striking the golden mean between poetical and literal translation. On the whole, we should say it leans to the literal side; but it is a praiseworthy and enterprising contribu-

tion to English knowledge of the literature of the less-known European countries.

The Poetical Works of AUBREY DE VERE. Vols. I., II., and III.
New Edition. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co. 1884.

WE have three volumes of this new and uniform edition of Mr. de Vere's poems before us. There is nothing to indicate whether or not there is to be a fourth. The first volume contains the "Search after Proserpine," and a collection of miscellaneous poems, "Recollections of Greece," "The Year of Sorrow," and various sonnets. The second contains "The Legends of S. Patrick," "Oiseen the Bard and S. Patrick," "Antar and Zara," and "Legends of Ireland's Heroic Age," or "The Foray of Queen Meave." The third contains "Alexander the Great," "S. Thomas of Canterbury," and a collection of sonnets and other poems. It will be seen that the "Legends of the Saxon Saints" is not—at least yet—included, nor "The May Carols," and some other pieces. As the edition is a reprint, we need only welcome it as a boon to have Mr. de Vere's different pieces gathered into a set of volumes. It need hardly be added that the publishers leave nothing to be desired as regards external advantages; type, paper, and binding being all good. If more volumes are forthcoming, the value of the edition will be much enhanced.

Notes on Catholic Missions. By A. H. ATTERIDGE, S.J. (Reprinted from the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*.) London : St. Joseph's Library, 48, South Street, Grosvenor Square. 1884.

WE are glad to see that these chapters on the present status of Catholic missions through the world have been reprinted from the pages of the *Messenger*, and to bring them to the notice of our readers. Missions are a topic the details of which, spread over the world, are not easily mastered. But the author of these "Notes" is fully competent to summarize and judge, as, indeed, those will not need to be told who read his able article on the same topic in our last number.

The author begins by expressing his fear that most Catholics know very little of the mission work of the Church. We can only add (for we believe he is right) that they cannot do better than read these short "Notes," which give the information in a very readable style. After a chapter contrasting past and present missionary labour, and the organization of mission labour in the Church, the writer devotes chapters to the condition, the work, and prospects of missions in India, in Buddhist countries—Ceylon, Burmah, China, and Japan—in Mahomedan countries, in Africa, among the islands of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, and lastly of those in America. In the last chapter, on Help for Missions—an eloquent appeal for prayers and alms for all foreign missions—we read this assurance, which, coming

from the authority it does, we find comfort in accepting:—"We believe that if we except the all but miraculous successes of St. Francis Xavier, the missions of to-day can be well compared with those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, without any reason for discouragement being suggested by the comparison."

Jean de Witt, Grand Pensionnaire de Hollande. Par M. ANTONIN LEFÈVRE PONTALIS. (Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française, Prix Halphen.) 2 vols. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1884.

THIS is a fine historical study of original sources which deserves attention as relating to a period in Dutch history, less dramatic than that with which Mr. Motley's pen was occupied but scarcely less interesting, about which we have not much information of easy access. Unfortunately, Mr. Geddes' "History of the Administration of John de Witt" has not yet got beyond its first volume, and breaks off at 1654. M. Lefèvre Pontalis has completed his task. The notice which his two volumes deserve asks for much more space than is unfortunately at our service this quarter. We must therefore be content to call attention to their appearance. The undoubted power of John de Witt, his abilities as a statesman, his equally undoubted patriotism, together with his sudden downfall and tragic end, make the story of his career at all times interesting, while it is eminently suggestive to the political student. M. Lefèvre Pontalis has drawn one very curious political conclusion from his studies, to which many will demur. It is equivalent to this, that a minister like de Witt is best for a republic until the danger of conquest menaces its independence, and then it needs the aegis of "une dynastie séculaire."

Life of Mademoiselle Le Gras (Louise de Marillac), Founder of the Sisters of Charity. Translated from the French by a Sister of Charity. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1884.

THIS is a translation of the work to the French original of which we devoted an article in July. We have nothing to add to the high opinion which we then expressed of this the only modern biography of Mademoiselle Le Gras. The translation has been done by a Sister of Charity, and we heartily wish her work success.

The History of Riots in London in the year 1780, commonly called the Gordon Riots. By the Rev. ALEXIUS J. F. MILLS. London: Lane & Son. 1883.

DICKENS'S account of the Gordon Riots, so vividly and graphically told in "Barnaby Rudge," will doubtless never be rivalled or equalled. It is very useful, however, to have in sober historic form some ready reference to that sad episode. This good service is done in the volume before us. We wish the little book a wide circulation.

BOOKS OF DEVOTION AND SPIRITUAL READING.

1. *Our Birthday Bouquet.* By ELEANOR C. DONNELLY. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1884.
2. *A Short Memoir of Esterina Antinori.* Translated from the Italian by LADY HERBERT. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.
3. *The Little Child's Prayer-Book.* Compiled by C. CARROLL. London: Richardson & Son.
4. *The Seraphic Guide.* A Manual for the Members of the Third Order of St. Francis. By a FRANCISCAN FATHER. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1884.
5. *Light from the Lowly; or, Lives of Persons who Sanctified themselves in Humble Positions.* By the Rev. FRANCIS BUTIÑA, S.J. Translated from the Spanish by the Rev. W. McDONALD, D.D. With Twelve Illustrations¹ by W. C. MILLS. 2 vols. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.
6. *Popular Life of St. Teresa of Jesus.* Translated from the French of l'Abbé MARIE JOSEPH, of the Order of Carmel, by ANNIE PORTER. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1884.
7. *The Spirit of St. Teresa.* Translated and arranged by the author of the "Life of St. Teresa." London: Burns & Oates. 1884.
8. *From the Crib to the Cross.* Meditations for the Young. Translated from the French. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.
- 9, 10. *The Book of the Professed. Spiritual Direction.* By the author of "Golden Sands." Translated by Miss ELLA McMAHON, New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1884.
11. *A Marvellous History; or, the Life of Jeanne de la Noue.* By the author of "Tyborne." London: Burns & Oates.
12. *Maxims and Counsels of St. Vincent de Paul.* By the late Most Rev. Dr. WALSH, Archbishop of Halifax. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.
13. *Vespers Book for the use of the Laity.* Richardson & Son. (Six-penny edition.)

1. This is a useful and attractive birthday book. There is a short life of a saint for every day of the year; there are a few lines of verse, more or less appropriate; and there is a "favourite practice." Mrs. Donnelly also contributes some verses of her own here and there in the volume. The citations from the poets are very varied, ranging from Dante to the late Father Burke, and from Shakespeare to Cardinal Wiseman. But all readers are fond of a neat or devout thought expressed in good or tolerable verse; and this little book, with its pretty cover, will be very acceptable as a birthday gift.

2. This edifying biography of a young Italian lady who died in the odour of sanctity before she was eighteen is carefully translated by Lady Herbert. It is interesting to know that Lady Herbert has done more than offer a mere translation; she has seen the nuns who superintended Esther's education, and her friends and intimates in the

school and in the world, and she has gathered together the impressions which the holy young girl has left. A pious girl's biography is not often very full of incident or variety, and it is not too much to say that this memoir would not have been written if its subject had not kept a diary. The little book before us is largely made up of transcripts from the child's diary, which, in their turn, are little more than echoes of the "exercises" given by the good Jesuit Fathers, whose retreats the pious child assiduously followed. But they are none the less edifying, and they will be found very useful as spiritual reading for the young.

3. The Bishop of Emmaus highly recommends in his brief Preface this little Prayer-book. It bears no date, and the copy sent us is perhaps a new edition. It is intended for children who have not made their first communion. It is a pity the woodcuts are so very poor.

4. The Franciscans of Cincinnati have sent out a useful Manual for the Third Order. It contains the history and description of the Third Order, the Rule as lately re-issued by the present Pope, a commentary on the Rule, a ceremonial, much devout reading, examples of the Saints, and numerous devotions—the whole forming a stout but not ugly little volume of nearly 600 pages. It bears the "imprimatur" of the Archbishop of Cincinnati.

5. In two handsome but handy volumes we have a work which will be pronounced by most readers interesting and useful. It is a series of biographical sketches, some sixty or seventy in number, of holy persons who have been in humble circumstances. The original Spanish, from which Dr. Macdonald translates, we have not seen; but the translation reads well. Father Butiña seems to have been one of those spiritual chroniclers who look rather to edification than to history. He has made free use of his imagination, composing speeches, imagining scenes, and mingling with his narrative a very large amount of devout reflection. Nevertheless, the book is excellent spiritual reading, containing as it does not only the devout history of so many servants of God, but also a great variety of admirable exhortation drawn from the great saints and masters of the spiritual life.

6. Père Marie Joseph's "Life of St. Teresa" is, as he calls it, a "popular" life. It is written in a very animated style, and divided into a variety of periods or "scenes," each of which is worked up with more or less eloquence. But we do not observe any exaggeration or false sentimentalism, and we can recommend it in this translation as a book likely to increase devotion to the Holy Mother, and to be profitable and attractive to the reader. The chapter entitled "St. Teresa and Meditation" is somewhat confusing, and does not read so well as the rest of the book, perhaps because the various technical terms have somewhat suffered in their transference from Spanish through French to English. The book is handsomely got up.

7. This is a neat duodecimo volume of 225 pages. It is divided into three parts. The first part is entitled "Exclamations of the Soul to God," and consists of the saint's outpourings before God after Holy

Communion. It was written, according to the Bollandists, in the year 1579. Those who know anything of the great seraphic soul of St. Teresa will know what to expect from her during those moments of ecstatic devotion when she had the God of love in her heart. The second and the longest part contains "Directions on Prayer, and on the Life of Prayer," extracted chiefly from "L'Esprit de Ste. Thérèse," which was published by M. Emery in 1775. M. Emery's work is a selection of such passages from the writings of St. Teresa as convey practical lessons to those who, whether in religion or in the world, aim at leading a life of close union with God. It is needless to say that these "Directions" are an epitome of the Saint's wonderful spiritual wisdom, prudence, and masculine sense. The third part consists of a Novena preparatory to the Feasts of St. Teresa, and is written by an unknown hand. It possesses a special interest in its being dedicated to "Madame Louise de France, Novice Carmélite," who, as the translator tells us, left in 1770 the brilliant and dissolute Court of her father, Louis XV., for the solitude of Carmel, and received his conversion as her reward. We need say nothing to recommend this golden little book, as it contains so much of the great, loving heart and of the strong, lofty intellect of St. Teresa.

8. It is well said by Father Purbrick, in his Preface to this little volume of "Meditations," that the "quick wit of childhood, raised and helped by grace, is easily interested in such a Person and life as that of Jesus, and, gazing on Him attentively and lovingly, thinks easy thoughts, but deep, about Him." The plan of the book is to present the scenes of the life of Our Saviour in simple but picturesque language, and to add reflections, prayers, and resolutions more or less suitable to childhood. This design is admirably carried out, and the work is excellently translated.

9, 10. Each of these books, by the author of "Golden Sands," is a useful addition to the spiritual library of a convent or a private home. The former is a small treatise on the advantages, duties, and obligations of the religious state; the second is a very complete instruction on the meaning of "direction," its necessity, its method, and its abuses. Both works seem to be written with great prudence, and are well translated.

11. A life of the heroic Jeanne de la Noue, foundress of a congregation of sisters of the poor and the orphan which has subsisted for two hundred years in Brittany and elsewhere, could not fail to be interesting and edifying. The authoress does not say where she gets her materials from, and, as there is a sort of "wicked priest" in the story in the shape of a Jansenist curé, some reference to authority might have been better, for there are conversations and scenes of which the details seem to be more or less imaginary.

12. A pretty little volume, containing a thought or maxim of St. Vincent de Paul for every day in the year, arranged by the late Archbishop Walsh, of Halifax.

13. We mention and recommend Messrs. Richardson's sixpenny Vesper Book. It is clearly printed, and more substantial than can be expected for the money.

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